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Media and migrations:
Press narrative and country politics
in three European countries

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“... I wanted to migrate
to find other dreams...”

Messages from Paradise #1
Daniela Swarowsky, 2009

“How can they hate us so much if they don’t even know us?”

Unidentified migrant, as reported by Nazek Ramadan
at the European conference “Migrants, the media and the Message”,
London, March 29th, 2010

“...if media bias exists, it can generate manipulation
of people opinions”

Marta De Philippis, Msc Thesis, 2009

INTRODUCTION

There is no debate that migration is one of the defining issues of the globalized world. In terms of facts and figures, no historical period has ever faced such a huge displacement and replacement of human beings across borders and boundaries.

In the last edition of their leading text, fittingly entitled *The Age of Migration*, Castles and Miller wrote: “No one knows exactly how many international migrants there are. The United Nations Population Division (UNDP) estimate for mid-year 2005 stood at nearly 191 million (UNDESA, 2005). By 2007, the figure approached 200 million or approximately 3 per cent of the world’s population of 6.5 billion people”¹. The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization² released a report in 2004, stating

¹ Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration – International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Palgrave MacMillan 2009, p.5

² <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/wcsdg/index1.htm>

that international migration phenomenon involves flows of more than 100 million people per year, from and to an ever increasing number of countries.

The latest figures provided by International Labour Organization³ are even more striking, and confirm the presence of a expanding trend in international migration and displacement:

“A growing number of nations are involved with migration as a countries of origin, destination or transit, or all three... it is estimated that there will be 214 million international migrants in the world in 2010 (UNDP, 2009). Almost half of international migrants are women... International Labour Office estimates that economically active migrants will number some 105.4 millions in 2010; these and family members accompanying them will account for almost 90 per cent of total international migrants. Only about 7-8 per cent of migrants are refugees or asylum-seekers, and some of these persons are employed...”⁴.

Europe – and more specifically Italy – is currently one of the main gates as well as a final destination of these massive flows of people. As for any event that involves such a huge number of human beings, redefining their way of life, daily routine and ultimately culture in a deep and irreversible way, migration – be it forced or chosen, for economical or personal reasons, as a result of ideological, religious, political persecution or as the much awaited-for outcome of a long-time pursued dream – is a driving and compelling force that contributes to a large extent to shape societies, thus creating its own narrative.

It is precisely this narrative that I have chosen as the crucial subject of my media analysis, this very choice being in itself a declaration of intent and an acknowledgement of an ideological “bias”: my point of view is clearly the

³ *International labour migration. A rights-based approach*, Geneva, International Labour Office, 2010; see www.ilo.org/publns

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2

after-effect of two defining aspects of my professional and personal life. The journalist, on one hand; the activist, on the other.

As a reporter covering human rights and social issues, my path has been constantly crossing the roads of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees. Men, women, children. First and second generations. The endeavour of recounting their lives and experiences had to confront a media world that is not yet aware (or pretends not to be) of the pivotal relevance this presence is gaining in our societies. Hence, the need to understand how the media – and more specifically newspapers, which are my area of work and expertise – could and should, in their own interest, develop a new approach in dealing with migration issues.

At the same time, as an activist involved in local projects of different kinds – from theatre projects with Roma children to the reintegration of Albanian juvenile criminals – I had the opportunity to get an inside view on how migrant communities in my own country perceive the coverage given to their stories by the media. And the reality of that coverage they described to me was, most of the time, not a positive one.

Therefore, as already stated, this project has been driven from its very beginning by a curiosity that includes a fair amount of mistrust and prejudices, of and about my own profession. But its goal is also and precisely to get rid of these preconceived images, whilst providing a straightforward, scientifically accurate analysis of the issue, whose outcome might even redefine my initial presumptions.

In the first chapter I'll draw a map of my methodological references, thus corroborating my claim that, overall, studies on media and migration tend to focus on qualitative analysis rather than on a quantitative one (which could be less prone to criticism or interpretation); at the end of the chapter I will provide an alternative approach, with a codebook specifically designed to

address the needs of researchers interested in getting an evaluation of the coverage of migration.

The evaluation grid will then be tested on a sample of articles selected with reference to specific events or time frames, and published in opinion-leading newspapers in three European countries – Italy, which will be at the centre of this study; Germany and United Kingdom, as examples of countries with a diverse and long-standing history of migration, as well as a substantially different media approach. As a conclusion to this first part, devoted to the portrayal of migrants in the societies which are receiving them, a chapter will deal with the potentiality of analyzing the narrative of migration in the media of the countries of origin.

As a conclusion, I will provide a socio-philosophical context and collocation for my findings, referring mainly to Antonio Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony" and relations of power in a specific historical and political situation. A mere collection of facts and figures will therefore disclose its potentiality to embody the surface reflection of an underlying structural connection between media and society, which exercises a mutual impact and whose interaction shapes what we define as the "narrative of migration" itself.

It is in relation to this narrative that the ultimate aim of this research will be set: namely, looking forward to the possibility of widening the analytical scope, by applying the very same codebook to a broader set of events, periods, media and even countries – thus transforming it (hopefully) into a tool for academics, media professionals and activists around the world.

1. REDEFINING A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

“Whilst the media’s stereotyped images of immigrants are expressions of racist mentalities, lack of professional ethics or, sometimes, just plain ignorance, such images are also part of political battles and the fight for specific power interests...”⁵

Giovanna Campani

a. The State of the Art

Migration has been for years now the “talk of the day” in most Western countries; and there is a reasonable hint that the future might bend even more in this direction. Literature on migration, be it forced or chosen, for economic or political reasons, has been constantly expanding, as well as – most of the time – media coverage of related topics and events. So, why focus – as a media professional, with a non-traditional academic approach – on the issue?

To date, most of the papers dealing with it appeared in edited collections which are devoted to exploring the interactions between racism, ethnicity and the media⁶; the complex interrelation between the phenomenon of migration and media coverage is only explored in a tangential way. In addition, the overall approach that many scholars share seems to give a paramount role to

⁵ G. Campani, “Migrants and the Media – The Italian case”, in *Media and Migration. Construction of Mobility and Difference*, edited by Russell King and Nancy Wood, Routledge 2001, p. 39

⁶ From *Media and Cultural Pluralism in Europe*, edited by Marion Varfagtig, Stockholm University 1995, to the recent *Racism and Ethnicity*, by Ian Law, Pearson 2010

qualitative analysis; again and again, investigations rely on a general evaluation of the images (headlines, pictures, main texts) conveyed by media on a specific event or reality – whose subjects are defined by nationality, ethnicity, legal status etc. –, and derive from it an interpretation of the ideological approach that shapes the coverage of those issues. Facts and figures are somehow deemed less relevant when it comes to highlight the role the media plays in “reinforcing stereotypes and prejudices about the migrants”⁷.

A common methodological approach I frequently encountered focuses on what is commonly defined as a survey analysis: Nicola Mai, in his contribution to King and Wood (revolving around “The role of Italian Tv in Albanian migration to Italy”), relates to interviews with “Albanian young people who had migrated”⁸, reporting their voices and extracting from them proof of evidence in order to back up his starting presumption – that is, migration is a “potential state of being” which the media both appealed to and helped to construct while still in the country of origin, whereas the very same media tool turns its back on migrants once they reach their destination, with a coverage that – in the specific case Mai refers to – “in large measure contributed to – indeed was responsible for – the pervasive stigmatisation and criminalisation” of migrants ⁹. Mai’s strategy is, as a matter of fact, very effective, as it also emerges from another relevant text he wrote with King and Dalipaj and which bears the fitting title “Exploding the Migration Myths”¹⁰, in being indeed “able to introduce a perspective which is too often

⁷ G. Campani, in *Media and Migration*, cit., p.50

⁸ N. Mai, “Italy is beautiful”, in *Media and Migration*, cit., p. 104

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104. Media are here seen as instrumentally sympathetic or unsympathetic to immigrants, according to the political and social role they are given in a country.

¹⁰ Russell King, Nicola Mai, Mirela Dalipaj, *Exploding the Migration Myths – Analysis and Recommendations for the European Union, the UK and Albania*, Fabian Society and Oxfam GB, 2003

missing from this debate – the voice of migrants themselves”¹¹. It is by listening to these voices that researchers are ultimately able to state that, by using “crude language and stereotypes when dealing with the issue of immigration”, some newspapers have “caused significant damage to community relations”. Therefore, the paper concludes that “an honest and open debate is needed, but this should not be based on prejudice and myths”; the press is strongly advised to “look to [its] own behaviour”, instead of blaming the Government for the “hysteria that often surrounds this debate”¹².

Liza Schuster follows a similar approach in her paper on “The Continuing Mobility of Migrants in Italy: Shifting between Places and Statuses”¹³, although the questions she tries to answer are slightly different, and refer to tricky theoretical conceptions such as self-definition of migrants, processes of inclusion or exclusion, and shifting boundaries between social statuses. Through her interviews, she also substantiates the perception of the role the media play in stressing the migration experience as essentially one of emergency: talking about the Italian government’s policy in dealing with illegal entrants, she stresses how “these ‘*clandestini*’ were frequently linked in the media and public discourse to increases in crime, and demands for the control of ‘clandestine’ migration grew”¹⁴. In the Italian case, recent figures proved that a direct link between crime and immigration is illegitimate¹⁵.

Survey analysis can also focus on the content of the media itself, rather than on the reactions provoked amongst their readers (migrants as well as nationals) or on public opinion as a whole. Vicky Squire focuses on the concepts of criminalisation and securitisation in order to show how

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.2

¹² *Ibid.*, p.104

¹³ *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, n° 4, July 2005 – pp.757-774

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 760.

¹⁵ See Caritas’ dossier on immigration, <http://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/>

“exclusionary articulations of asylum are widespread within popular media discourse” in the UK¹⁶. She reports findings derived from the analysis of “a total of 20 articles, reports and letters” published by *The Mail*. Despite the smallness of her sample, her conclusions are rather helpful in articulating the issue of absence. Her theoretical framework is deeply rooted in linguistic studies, moving from the anti-objectivistic approach of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe¹⁷ to Derrida’s definition of how “a [perceived] threat to the referent object *at the same time* serves to make the meaning or identity of that object possible by supplementing its essential lack”¹⁸.

In his study on Swedish local daily newspapers, Bo Petersson examines a peculiar item in the newspapers’ world: the letters to the editor¹⁹. His research sample revolved around the readers’ letters page of a single local newspaper, *Smålandningen*, during the whole of 2002; its readership in the town of Ljungby, in the southern area of Sweden, reaches a remarkably large audience – “over 70 % of the households are regular subscribers” and “the paper reaches 88% of the population (...) on a daily basis”²⁰ – therefore making the sample a fitting one in terms of showing how media “reproduce and maintain hegemonic social relations, reinforce prevalent distinctions between in-groups and out-groups and, by the same token, strengthen notions of what is to be considered normative as far as membership of different collectives is concerned”²¹. The dynamic interaction between the newspaper policy and its readers’ stance towards migration appears through a cross-examination of the

¹⁶ V. Squire, *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum*, Palgrave MacMillan 2009, p.85

¹⁷ What matters in the media coverage are not the *facts*, but rather their *perception*: asylum seekers might be few in number, but they have become the main counterpart inside processes of identity construction, therefore being constructed as a *threatening supplement*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36

¹⁹ B. Petersson, “Strangers in Our Midst – Letters to the Editor in a Swedish Local Newspaper”, in *National Myths and Modern Media – Contested Identities in the Age of Globalization*, edited by Jan Herman Brinks, Stella Rock and Edward Timms, Tauris Academic Studies 2006

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.97

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.98

letters' content, with a marked emphasis on political and ideological currents surfacing here and there throughout the year.

From a broader perspective, academic work has therefore been able to prove - in a wide range of settings and situations - the existence of an effective relationship between media coverage and migration perception in different countries. But the massive amount of information and data currently available, especially since the introduction of the “24/7 news” imperative, has paradoxically led to a narrowing of the subject matter and to a predominance of qualitative over quantitative analysis. Migration in itself is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and its combination with the complex world of modern communication ends up in producing a gigantic and seemingly chaotic cluster of interacting realities, like a machine whose gears are all interconnected and depending on each other in order to work properly, without – as it often sadly happens – getting stuck in a socio-political *cul-de-sac*.

It seems therefore to me that the best way out, in order to contrive a feasible research approach, would be – as shown by the scholars quoted so far – to narrow down the field as well as the parameters, looking for a sample which might prove itself to be a meaningful description of a more general reality.

b. Detecting the Limits, Defining New Tools

As a journalist and media professional, my main concern in media research is providing scientifically accurate evidence to support the underlying theoretical structure. Media are – as already stated – very complex environments and their influence on public opinion and the “outside world” as

a whole, although easy and intuitive to detect, might be harder to prove on scientifically unchallengeable grounds.

To my knowledge, in the existing literature there is very little specifically regarding media coverage of migration, either from a quantitative or qualitative perspective. A lot has been said, for instance, about the complex relationship between media and racism²²; much less on the equally intertwined correlation that ties journalistic activity to the shaping of a narrative of migration itself.

“The way immigration is covered as well as the way it is framed in the national media are important determinants of natives’ perceptions towards immigration. However, little conclusive evidence has been produced to this effect”²³, writes Marta De Philippis in her recent paper. Her methodological approach is a good illustration of my own research purpose. De Philippis work is rooted in econometrics, therefore providing scientifically conclusive evidence of the existing inter-connection between the birth and making of a narrative of migration on one side, and the news coverage provided, on the other. This doesn’t imply, of course, getting to a definitive understanding of which actor – the media or their readers – is indeed driving the action, as in the old “chicken or egg” causality dilemma:

“...the relationship between natives’ attitudes and news on immigration involves some endogeneity problems, since the direction of the causality is unclear. This study shows that natives’ perceptions depend significantly on the presence of other newsworthy events, which are clearly unrelated to sentiments toward immigration such as the Olympic Games or natural and technological disasters, but crowd out

²² See, for instance, Liz Fekete’s *A Suitable Enemy. Racism, Migration and Islamophobia in Europe*, Pluto Press 2009, which often refers to media role as complementary and integrating politicians’ discourse on migration, thus creating a “debate” that “is always one of ‘us’ and ‘them’”. The idiom – Fekete claims – used humiliates and stigmatises. Seldom is the ‘other’ given a hearing, except to confirm *our* prejudices” (p.63)

²³ M. De Philippis, *Media Impact on Natives’ Attitudes Towards Immigration*, Msc Thesis, Bocconi University, Academic year 2008-2009, p.8

news on immigration. I argue that this is evidence of the persuasive power of media in shaping natives' perceptions"²⁴.

De Philippis recalls "the importance of non economic determinants of natives' attitudes", such as the "preferences for cultural and ethnic homogeneity"²⁵. In fact, Card, Dustmann and Preston²⁶ - as quoted in her work – had already shown that the cultural dimension is the one that retains the strongest effect in determining attitudes towards migration.

The limits of the existing research corpus are, in my opinion, quite clear: the "direction of the causality" is most of the time taken for granted (the media influence public opinion), whereas the evidence generally supplied in order to prove beyond any doubt the existence of a biased and partial narrative could be easily contested and dismissed by both academics and media professionals.

My aim is thus to define a set of measurable and countable parameters, which could eventually be applied to a whole range of media, legitimizing by these means further trans-national comparative studies, as well as an analysis of the impact that different media structures can exert on the formation of a common narrative. Adopting a quantitative approach, through the tools provided by content analysis methodology, also allows us to reduce to a minimum the starting bias I described in the introduction to this paper, although some of the parameters – the less countable ones – might still risk a variety of personal interpretation of their content.

²⁴ M. De Philippis, *ibid.*, p.4

²⁵ M. De Philippis, *ibid.*, p. 11

²⁶ D. Card, C. Dustmann, I. Preston, *Immigration, Economy and Culture: Analysis of Attitudinal Responses*, in EASR Conference on Survey Research, Barcelona 2005

Since “the problem of bias – as stated by Christian Kolmer – cannot be discussed in a meaningful way without reference to content”²⁷, content analysis seems to provide a device that enables researchers to get “a better understanding of the impact of the media on society, insofar as observation of media content is a necessary condition for analysis of possible media effect”²⁸. The instruments need of course to be refined, in order to avoid “impressionistic accounts” that could be challenged by other academics – although ultimately, in my opinion, there is no way to escape some criticism deriving from the fact that it is an individual choice whether to select some words or others as “bias indicators”, according to the nuanced interpretation the researcher might give to their meaning.

Furthermore, bias can be expressed through contents (that is, words) as well as through their absence; in short,

“a common propaganda tool is to remain silent about information that is unfavourable while emphasising information that is desirable. Content analysis will pick up only the emphasis, not the silence”²⁹.

Defining the absence is clearly not an easy task, but it is key to this issue to try and zoom in on what is *lacking* in media coverage on migration, because where racism, xenophobia and equally deep-rooted biases aren’t immediately visible and perceivable, the fact that migrant voices aren’t given the floor might nevertheless be an indicator of their presence. The coding should hence include a strategy to “identify the absence”, even if by simply ticking the boxes of other “mirror presences” in the examined texts.

²⁷ C. Kolner, *Methods of Journalism Research – Content Analysis*, in *Global Journalism Research. Theories, Methods, Findings, Future*, ed. by Martin Loeffelholz and David Weaver, Wiley-Blackwell 2008, p.117

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.118

²⁹ Michelle Jackson, *Content Analysis*, in *Research Methods for Health and Social Care*, ed. by Joanne Neale, Palgrave MacMillan 2009, p. 83

In order to cut down to the maximum all the risks, I chose to elaborate my evaluation grid following some pre-existing theoretical frameworks. In his more recent publication, Ian Law puts in a nutshell the most relevant characteristic of news coverage on migration and ethnic minorities in Europe:

“The identification of strong negative messages and mechanisms in news coverage across Europe has also been established... Country reports on media coverage confirmed that once a negative discourse on migrants or ethnic minorities was established it tended to remain prevalent. This became a ‘fixed repertoire’, where event coverage involved a repetitive chain of statements, actions and conclusions (*for example in the coverage on protests against immigrant settlements in Italian metropolitan areas, resolved with public order intervention and segregation*). It was found that journalists provided a reading of the events which shaped hostility and was markedly different to the perceptions of inhabitants of neighbourhoods that had become the focus of reporting (because of conflicts, protests, or decay) and that they did not recognise themselves or their positions in the way their problems or lives were shown in the media. For example *in Italy and Greece news coverage was found to be fuelling hysteria or alarm about (the settlement of) immigrants, an alarm which was then appeased by police operations. An anti-immigrant consensus was constructed in the Italian press coverage on such cases, by combining several forms of stereotypical and negative portrayal supported by representations of ‘public opinion’, or directly through the mobilisation by political authorities*”³⁰.

Law consequently reduces media coverage of migration to four predominant categories, “a set of limited topics” which – he claims – draws the line for an effective “confinement of coverage”: namely,

“Immigration and associated *debates over numbers*, illegal entry, fraudulent activities, forms of confinement and control, and the threat to society, culture and nation; *crime* with special attention given to racialised crime such as mugging,

³⁰ I. Law, *Racism and Ethnicity*, Pearson 2010, p. 208 (Italics are mine)

rioting, drug offences, prostitution and violent offences; *cultural difference*, which is often inflated, negatively interpreted and linked to social problems, including inner city decline and unemployment; *ethnic relations*, including inter-ethnic tension, violence and discrimination”³¹.

Likewise, Wilson and Gutiérrez - back in 1985 - provided an extremely useful set of modalities applied by the media when representing migrants³²; these categories were labelled under the definitions of exclusion, threat, opposition, stereotyped selection and total coverage; their postulations – to which I’ll refer more extensively in the second chapter of this research – have been extremely useful in backing my arguments.

Whereas the previous studies provided the theoretical structure for my coding system, as a media practitioner I felt that a more practical and journalistic tool was also needed. I found supporting evidence in a 1995 handbook for media professionals³³, which specifically focused on collecting and making available various codes of conduct on the coverage of migration issues.

The one I chose to rely on was initially formulated by Public Broadcasting for a Multicultural Europe (PBME), a European initiative supported by BBC Education and BBC Television-Equal Opportunities, together with BRTN (Belgium), NOS (Netherlands), STOA (Netherlands) and University of Luton (UK). Its goal is, as stated on MediaWise’s website, to “promote the role of public broadcasting in the development of a multicultural Europe and to increase participation of black and ethnic minorities”; its guidelines aim

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193 (Italics are mine)

³² Clint C. Wilson II and Félix Gutiérrez, *Minorities and the Media. Diversity and the End of Mass Communication*, Sage 1985; then re-edited as *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media. From Mass to Class Communication*, Sage 1995

³³ *Media and Cultural Pluralism in Europe*, ed. by Marion Varfagtig, Stockholm University, 1995

therefore to “avoid negative and stereotypical portrayals” of the same communities.

PBME’s “Recommendations for Broadcasting on Fair Portrayal of Ethnic Minorities in European Societies”, drafted and subsequently signed in February 1996, are defined as follows:

“Avoid using terminology to describe minorities that gives offence to minority communities and which can create negative association of “otherness”. Avoid reinforcing stereotypes of minorities by unnecessarily emphasising race or ethnicity. Ethnic origin or colour should only be mentioned when it is relevant to the story. Avoid unfounded or thoughtless associations between minorities and social problems. Beware of depicting a fictional reality which may reproduce and perpetuate prejudice. Seek out experts, commentators, game show contestants from the widest variety of backgrounds. It is important to show minorities in a variety of roles in society rather than confirm fixed views of their roles. Take care with statistical information to ensure that it does not create unnecessary alarm by exaggerating or sensationalising issues. Avoid making assumptions about a person’s cultural background on the basis of their name or religious details”³⁴.

There is also a more specific set of recommendations for “news and factual programmes”, which itemizes the overall approach:

“Avoid *sensationalising* race relation issues; Investigate the treatment of black, migrant, refugee, gypsy and other ethnic or linguistic minority groups, as well as enable programme makers to cover their lives and concerns *by reflecting the views of their representatives*; Explore the diverse views, opinions, tastes and interests within these communities; Include “*experts*” and *commentators* from a wide variety of backgrounds when compiling news or documentary pieces; Be wary of intentional and unintentional misinformation which exposes audiences to *negative myths and distortions of reality* and which foster racist or xenophobic views; *Avoid promotion of points of view that exploit people’s anxieties or fears*, or that

³⁴ *Ibid.* (pages are not numbered)

play on the susceptibilities of viewers; Avoid portrayal of racists and xenophobes which glamorise such groups”³⁵.

Another reference I bore in mind while defining my analytical code were the “four questions” posed by Ronald Kaye in his survey of the victimisation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, which also strongly focuses on media coverage. Kaye applied a simple set of parameters, namely:

“- What is the overall frequency of the use of each expression?- What form do the items take, e.g. editorial, letter, article etc.?

- In what way is the language itself framed, i.e. to what extent is the writer making use of the language in their own writing, and to what extent are they reflecting or reporting its use by politicians or others? In addition is there any commentary in newspapers about the actual use of the language?

- How does this use of language reflect the newspaper’s political orientation and its tabloid or broadsheet status?”³⁶.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (Italics are mine)

³⁶ R. Kaye, *Blaming the Victim – Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK*, in *Media and Migration*, cit., p. 57

It is from the literature I mentioned that I derived a personal set of analytical parameters. The aim was to create a tool which would embody both an academic approach and a professional view on the media; the result is a mixture of more theoretical questions, which refer – as already stated – to the theory of content and discourse analysis, and more practical observations that derive from a daily practice in a newsroom.

The table of questions that follows is therefore to be considered as the core and central part of this paper. The second part of it will describe the results of applying it to a selected sample of dailies, hopefully showing its validity.

1. **How many articles** related to the event/migration are published in a day? [classified into news reports, comments/op-eds, interviews, analysis, readers' letters, other]
2. In which **section** of the newspaper are they published? [classified into front page, first pages (2-6), back pages, op-ed and commentary pages, readers' letters pages, local pages]
3. Are **headlines** sensationalist or matter-of-factly written?
4. **Who gets quoted?** How many times? [classified into politicians or officials (international, national, local), Ngos (international, national, local), academics or researchers (international, national), citizens (migrants, nationals), writers or journalists (international, national, local)]
5. When migrants are quoted, which **titles/datas** are provided? [classified into first name, family name, age, nationality, title of study, other (family components, job, etc.)]
6. Which **percentage** of the article is roughly dedicated to report the **migrants' voice**? [classified – by counting the share of lines – into 0-25%, 26-50%, 51-75%, 76-100%]
7. If the voice of the migrants is represented, is it **racialised** (i.e., corresponding to stereotypes: the illegal worker, the prostitute, etc.)?
8. As for the articles which allegedly should give a voice to the migrants, **where in the page** are they published? [classified into opening, upper-right part, middle part, lower part]

9. Regarding the background of the central event, which **technical information/context** is provided? [classified into citizenship of migrants, legal status of migrants, facts and figures on their presence in the country of destination, facts and figures on their country of provenience, legal frame]
10. Are **sources** of facts and figures, especially estimates, quoted? If so, which ones?
11. Which **semantic areas** are predominant in the coverage, when it comes to describe the role of migrants in society? [classified in enrichment/usefulness, normality, problem/danger, emergency/fear, criminality] For each area, quote the words and their frequency of use.
12. In which way is the **language framed**? [classified in chosen by the writer or quoted when used by sources]
13. Is there a presence of derogatory terms, i.e. definitions or words or expressions which are **stereotypical or racist**? Is **race or ethnicity** emphasized unnecessarily through “signifiers of race” (words or pictures)? [classified into yes or no]
14. Are **exclusionary terms** used? Are migrants defined as outlaws or outcasts, as opposed to “local citizens”? [classified into yes or no]
15. Under which active or passive **categorization** falls the “migrant” portrayed in the article, and to which extent? [classified into fully victim, both victim and perpetrator, fully perpetrator]

The collected material has thus been screened through a proper content analysis, focused on countable variables more than qualitative presumptions; reliability was the ultimate standard, since my aim would be to provide an analytical kit to be reproduced and utilized by different researchers in different countries and working on different media³⁷.

I'd like to add here that these guidelines should also be seen as a set of principles that defines good, careful and objective journalism, as it should be applied to any kind of coverage and any subject.

The research project is grounded in a refined and multi-faceted content analysis of print media in three different European countries, namely Italy (the core of the whole survey), Germany and United Kingdom. The reasons underlying this choice are varied, the most practical and immediate being my knowledge of the three languages and my experience as a journalist working in all of these places, therefore having a deep knowledge of their socio-political landscapes as well as their recent migration history.

For each one of these countries, four national newspapers have been selected, with the goal of covering the widest range of socio-political positioning, from left-wing to right-wing dailies, from tabloids (where they exist) to broadsheets. At the same time, it is key, for a significant result, to focus on the identification of so-called “opinion-leading media”: that is, media that have an impact on other journalists and sources of information, at the same time being “the media sources with the greatest impact on the

³⁷ Not only - as Krippendorff stated in his fundamental text on content analysis theory - “data should at least be reproducible, by independent researchers, at different locations, and at different times, using the same instructions for coding the same set of data” (in K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, Sage 1980), but the methodological approach we rely upon also should – in my opinion – be equally reliable and applicable on different sets of data, without losing its credibility and authoritativeness, therefore authorizing its use to develop a more comprehensive and comparative analysis of the issue, i.e. involving other media and countries.

general public”³⁸. To this end, I examined circulation data³⁹ as well as taking into account the agenda-setting power of the dailies I chose to focus on.

One of the defining aspects of this research is its focus on print media, whose readership is declining and whose appeal has lost ground if compared to “sexier” new media or even old-fashioned television; but it is a choice that was made consciously and purposefully, rather than being merely driven by the necessity of drawing boundaries and avoiding the risk of getting lost amidst a massive amount of cross-technology coverage. Literature shows that printed media still sets the agenda and is perceived as authoritative and a powerful reference point by other media in most of the countries, regardless of their effective readership or the economical sustainability of their business model. They are still, to a great extent, the “gatekeepers” of information.

A time frame has also been applied, i.e. the choice of two defined weeks that mirror two different aspects of migration coverage. The first one is related to Rosarno’s riots, as an example of a context in which migration issues overlapped with an emergency and security approach, at the same time being a national issue that spilled over into international debate – thus guaranteeing a media coverage abroad. The clashes in this Southern Italian town happened on January 7th, 2010 and the issues examined range therefore from the 8th to the 14th of the same month. The second one was chosen because of the lack of migration-related incidents; my choice here fell upon the week between 8th and 14th May. The goal was to obtain a sample which could mirror different moments of media coverage as well as a diverse categorization of public opinion attitude towards migrants and their presence in the country.

³⁸ C. Kolner, *Methods of Journalism Research – Content Analysis*, quoted, p.122

³⁹ See Chapter 2, p. 30

The main tool I used in collecting the articles was the online archive Dow Jones Factiva, with the integration of a traditional archive – more precisely, *Corriere della Sera*’s one in Milan – in order to get physical copies of the newspapers, which aren’t available through the Internet database. A set of keywords in 3 different languages was defined. In the first case, the task was simplified by the presence of a well-defined event, i.e. the riots themselves, therefore allowing to minimize the number of keywords (“Rosarno”) and proceeding with a secondary selection of the collected material by reading it extensively. In the second case, for what concerns Italian newspapers, the selection was made on paper editions, in order to allow a broader focus: I picked up not only articles in which the semantic cluster revolving around the word “migration” effectively appeared, but also those in which a migrant presence was made evident through the recurrence of specific ethnic categories (from Roma nomads to various national groups and definitions). The same approach was used in analyzing German and British newspapers, although in the majority of cases here I relied solely upon the online archives.

Another methodological choice related to the scope of the coverage to be included in the survey. I opted for including all the different kinds of writings effectively published in the newspapers, from editorials to news reports to readers’ letters, because all of them are substantially relevant in reinforcing or challenging my initial presumptions; at the same time, I opted for excluding – in Rosarno’s case – those items that didn’t deal with the riots as a primary subject (I didn’t include, for instance, some analysis which regarded Rosarno’s events simply as a “political scarecrow”, or a reminder of a whole range of diverse situations which had to be addressed by legislators at the time). Headlines were also included in the survey, alongside the body text.

There are, of course, intrinsic limits to this investigation: the exclusion of online and broadcast media, the focus on a limited group of newspapers, the restricted time span, the lack of an extended analysis on page outlines as well as photo coverage (which was restricted to a few issues of Italian newspapers, as a subset of the textual survey). But my goal here is not to provide an exhaustive study of the issue; this paper aims to become a case study – in a way, a proper pilot project, restricted in time and space, in order to get a set of results on which to test the effectiveness of a method. It is of course too little to draw any ultimate and general conclusions on the building of a media narrative on migration in Europe, and only some suggestions will be provided on how to approach the same issue on the side of migrants' countries of origin; this second aspect, in particular, will be at the centre of my future research. This paper is therefore written with the awareness that there is still a long way to go, and the hope that this first step won't be the last.

2. THE MEDIA, THE PEOPLE

a. Which Countries?

In their study on race and multiculturalism in the American media, Wilson and Gutiérrez⁴⁰ draw a roadmap of the portrayal of the minorities through the decades; they identify five historical stages, namely the “exclusionary”, “threatening-issue”, “confrontation”, “stereotypical selection” and “multiracial coverage” phases. “The first four phases – they write – were so uniformly practiced by news media as to become virtually established as covert policy. In the 1990s the final phase may be viewed as embryonic and possibly destined to become news media policy in the future”⁴¹.

The three European countries I chose to focus upon mirror to some extent that evolutionary trajectory. Luckily, none of them is still stuck in the first exclusionary phase; but if Germany and the United Kingdom can be regarded as already following, to some degree, the road that leads from confrontation to stereotypical selection in order to get to a proper multiracial (to be intended as “multi-status”, migrants being not necessarily identified by a different racial connotation but rather than by their formal exclusion from a traditional concept of citizenship) coverage, Italy might be seen as still stuck in a “primitive” phase, a semi-permanent transition between the “threatening issue”, the “confrontation” and the “stereotypical selection” ones. Multiracial coverage is still a long way off being realized.

To fully understand the reasons lying behind this differentiation, it is useful to remember how these three nations - albeit being relatively close to each other from a geographical point of view, and sharing to some extent a

⁴⁰ Clint C. Wilson II and Félix Gutiérrez, *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media. From Mass to Class Communication*, Sage 1995

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 152

common culture, economy and recent history, thanks to their belonging to a selected group of “first world European countries” – differ hugely as to the stage they reached inside the history and evolution of the migration phenomenon.

As Castles and Miller summarize:

“Areas such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or Argentina are considered ‘classical countries of immigration’. Their current people are the result of histories of large-scale immigration – often to the detriment of indigenous populations. Today, migration continues in new forms. Virtually all of Northern and Western Europe became areas of labour immigration and subsequent settlement after 1945. Since the 1980s, Southern European states like Greece, Italy and Spain, which for a long time were zones of emigration, have become immigration areas. Today Central and Eastern European states, particularly Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, are becoming immigration lands”⁴².

What mostly characterizes recent years is a set of general tendencies, such as an overall globalization, acceleration and differentiation of the migrational phenomenon. Moreover, and more fitting to the subject of this research, some countries have developed a pattern of “transitional migration presence”: in Castles and Miller’s words, “this occurs when traditional lands of emigration become lands of transit migration and immigration as well”⁴³.

Italy belongs to this peculiar group. Going back through its history, emigration as a getaway from poverty and economic stagnation was a common fate, shared by 7 million people between 1945 and 1975 alone. Nowadays, the tide has totally reversed its cycle, and Italy – alongside Spain – has the largest migrant inflow in the continent. According to Istat

⁴² S. Castles and M.J. Miller, *quot.*, p. 8

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.12

demographic surveys⁴⁴, at the beginning of 2009 the number of foreign residents in Italy was 3,891,295; the total of residents was 60,045,068. Back in 2005, legal foreign residents were 2,671,000 – 4.6% of the total population; in 1995, they were 729,000⁴⁵. As for irregular migrants, the OECD's latest report⁴⁶ states that in Italy the estimate is currently of 500-750,000 presences, equal to 1.09% of the total population and 25.6% of the foreign population. "The proportion of immigrants in Italy's population – note Castles and Miller – is still lower than that of older European immigration countries, but the rapid growth and the great diversity make immigration a challenge for society. The right-wing Northern League and National Alliance campaign against immigration as a threat to law and order, and there has been considerable violence, especially against non-Europeans"⁴⁷.

Italy had no immigration law until 1986; in her paper on migrants, media and the "Italian case", Campani⁴⁸ draws a periodisation of recent migration history in the country, which marks three different time spans: from the beginning of the 80s to the so-called "Martelli Act", in 1990 (total lack of legislation, with a predominance of tolerance and curiosity that slightly shifted towards fear and intolerance); from the early Nineties until 1996, with a marked and dramatic change in migration flow (now originating from the Balkan region, thus fostering intolerance and hostility, alongside with the emergence of hostile parties); from the Dini Decree in 1996 to the Turco-Napolitano Law, in 1998 (a period characterized by contradictory processes and a fundamental "ambiguity" in the Italian government towards issues of migration). In 2001, Campani writes, "the 'emergency' approach continues, both for the settled migrants and for the new arrivals who cannot be

⁴⁴ <http://demo.istat.it>

⁴⁵ S.Castles and M.J. Miller, *cit.*, p. 267

⁴⁶ *International Migration Outlook*, June 2009, www.oecd.org/els/migration/imo

⁴⁷ S. Castles and M.J. Miller, *cit.*, p.266

⁴⁸ G.Campani, in *Media and Migration*, *cit.*

stopped”⁴⁹; an analysis shared by Castles and Miller, who remind how “it remains extremely difficult for immigrants to become citizens” and how the actual Centre-Right government was elected, in 2008, “following a campaign marked by anti-immigrant slogans”⁵⁰.

In more recent times, Italy has also been widely criticized on an international level for its muscular approach in repelling migrants trying to reach its territory by sea, especially from African coasts; a recent report from the Council of Europe harshly condemned Italy’s newly adopted policy to intercept migrants while on boats, sending them back indiscriminately to Libya – the so-called “push back” strategy, launched in May 2009: “Italy’s policy, in its present form, of intercepting migrants at sea and obliging them to return to Libya or other non-European countries – states the report - violates the principle of *non-refoulement*, which forms part of Italy’s obligations under Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights”⁵¹. This criticism was also shared by international NGOs as well as various UN bodies.

Germany is, by contrast, a good example of a country which bears a long-standing record of migration policies; since the 60s and 70s, its temporary work model – shared in Europe by Switzerland, Austria and Luxembourg – proved to be very attractive. It involved, as De Philippis writes,

“mostly un- and semi-skilled migrants from Southern Europe, former Yugoslavia and Turkey. The inflow of migrants was then perpetuated to ensure family reunification and chain migration and, therefore, the share of foreign born is relatively high... However, afterward, the integration of first, but mostly second

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.43

⁵⁰ S. Castles and M.J. Miller, *cit.*, p.267

⁵¹ *Report to the Italian Government on the visit to Italy carried out by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT)*, 28.04.2010, <http://www.cpt.coe.int/documents/ita/2010-inf-14-eng.htm>

generation migrants has become a challenge in view of changing demands of migrant skills combined to a failure to promote immigrants' education adequately"⁵².

Nevertheless, politicians somehow refused to acknowledge – until the late 1990s - that Germany had transformed itself into a “country of immigration”, notwithstanding an incoming flow of over 20 million newcomers since the end of World War II. By 2005, Germany had a foreign resident population of 6,756,000, counting for 8.2% of the total population; 68% - report Castles and Miller – “came from outside the EU, while 25 per cent came from older EU states and 7 per cent from the 10 states that joined the EU in 2004. Children born in Germany with foreign parents still do not automatically obtain German citizenship. One in five foreigners (1.4 million persons) was actually born in Germany”⁵³. In 2009, according to the OECD survey, Germany also had an illegal immigrant presence between 200,000 and one million, equal to a 0.73% of its population⁵⁴. The most represented communities come from Turkey – by far the largest foreign group living in the country -, followed by (surprisingly) Italy, Serbia and Montenegro, Poland, Greece, Croatia.

It is relevant to this research project to point out how German policies shaped, in time, migrant communities' interaction with society, even when the results were in contrast with government plans: “Germany – synthesize Castles and Miller – is an important example of the unforeseen effects of migration. Labour recruitment was designed to bring in temporary workers who would not stay, but in the long run it led to permanent settlement and the emergence of a multiethnic society. Official denial made things worse, because it exacerbated the exclusion of migrants from society. In the long run public attitudes and policy approaches had to change”⁵⁵. Foreign citizens in

⁵² M. De Philippis, *cit.*, p.7

⁵³ S. Castles and M.J. Miller, *cit.*, p.260

⁵⁴ *International Migration Outlook*, *cit.*

⁵⁵ S. Castles and M.J. Miller, *cit.*, p.261

Germany also play by now a significant role from the electoral point of view; the Turkish-German voting bloc, for instance, reached a share of around 2% in 2006. On the other hand, the increased perception of migrants as a “permanent presence” fuelled the reaction of fringe extreme-right parties, which gained some representation at local and regional level, thus leading to a growing polarization of politics on migration issues. It has to be stressed that “Germany – as Liz Fekete recalls – has never officially accepted cultural diversity as a positive feature of society”⁵⁶.

Germany might be therefore a good example of a country where the media have shifted from a “temporary” approach to migration, to a progressive integration of migrant communities into a socio-political agenda; a process that, albeit being far from complete, deals with challenges which might be shared, in a near future, by Italian society too.

As the third country selected for this survey, the United Kingdom classifies as an altogether different model of immigration; its reality is mostly the outcome and heritage of colonial ties, an experience shared with other nations, such as France or the Netherlands. Until a few years ago, migrants entering British borders were usually able to speak English, but were at risk of being marginalized because of their ethnic origins and low educational level. Nowadays, the landscape has dramatically changed as a result of the globalization of migrant flows; the new issue, as it emerged in the last ten years, is asylum. “Successive governments introduced five new laws between 1993 and 2006, tightening up entry rules, and introducing deterrent measures such as detention and restrictions on welfare. Asylum applications declined from 103,000 in 2002 to just 28,000 in 2006”⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ L. Fekete, *A Suitable Enemy*, cit., p. 81

⁵⁷ S. Castles and M.J. Miller, cit., p.254

Another issue which is gaining more and more relevance in British public debate is – especially after 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist attacks – Islam. As a consequence of the “national security complex” that Fekete sees as widespread across the whole of Europe⁵⁸, UK policies have therefore shifted towards an emphasis on “social cohesion”, and citizenship tests – based on the idea of “Britishness” and “core values” – were introduced; on the other hand, migrant minorities still have to face the lack of jobs, education, and social integration.

Since British law differentiates between three main categories for its population of immigrant origin – foreign residents, foreign-born people and ethnic minorities – it is difficult to provide estimates and data on a migrant presence on UK territory which could be comparable to the ones collected for Italy and Germany. According to the OECD, the inflow of foreign population in 2007 was of 501,800 people – 8,000 less than in 2006. The stock of foreign population for the same year is 6.5% - 0.7% more than in the previous year. Just as a comparison, in Switzerland the share reached 20.8%; in Spain, 11.6%⁵⁹. The estimate on the presence of illegal migrants for 2009 ranges between 310,000 and 570,000 people.

Notwithstanding the relevance implied by these sheer numbers, the issue was apparently not so central in the electoral debate run by the three main UK parties in April-May 2010. James Jupp, director of the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra, summarized the political approach to this topic as follows:

“Asylum seekers are still wrongly described as ‘illegal’ and European Union citizens are blamed for taking jobs from the British, which they are legally entitled to

⁵⁸ “Whole categories of people are treated as constituting risk. No longer treated as individuals, they are seen as part of a wider class of people to be collectively neutralised, incapacitated and warehoused”, in L. Fekete, *cit.*, p. 14

⁵⁹ *International Migration Outlook*, *cit.*

do. Tensions are exacerbated by a national level of 8 per cent unemployment and higher rates in former industrial cities and parts of London. Against this background, the major political parties are reluctant to enter the debates and controversies dominated by marginal racist organisations and the irresponsible end of the mass media. The three major parties all agree that immigration policy needs reform, with Labour having to explain why it did so little during the past thirteen years. In their official material all three parties discuss immigration under the heading of ‘law and order’, with the relevant section on the Labour manifesto titled ‘Crime and Immigration’. (...) Of the three, the Liberal Democrats are the only party to separate legal control from humane considerations. But even their manifesto spends some space under ‘Your Community’ talking about policing before getting to ‘firm but fair’ immigration policies”⁶⁰.

A confirmation of the loose approach of UK parties to immigration issues comes from the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Agreement released by the government on May 11th, 2010. Barely four lines out of the five-page document are devoted to migration issues, keeping the commitment to a minimum benchmark: “We have agreed that there should be an annual limit on the number of non-EU economic migrants admitted into the UK to live and work. We will consider jointly the mechanism for implementing the limit. We will end the detention of children for immigration purposes”⁶¹. Oddly enough, the only kind of migration the newly appointed executive refers to is the “economic” one, totally avoiding the asylum issue; on the other hand, the document doesn’t mention at all the “amnesty” proposal which Liberal Democrats flagged in their electoral manifesto, as a way to address the problem of a relevant presence of “illegal” migrants living for years on UK

⁶⁰ J. Jupp, “Immigration, Race and the British Elections”, in *Inside Story* (online review edited by the Institute of Social Research/Swinburne University of Technology and Australian National University), 03.05.2010; <http://inside.org.au/immigration-race-and-the-british-election/>

⁶¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/interactive/2010/may/15/coalition-conservative-liberal-democrat-agreement>

territory without recurring to a mere expulsion mechanism, which would be costly and extremely difficult to implement.

The United Kingdom seems therefore to embody a third stage along the historical path of migration in Europe, allowing a comparison in terms of media coverage which involves a different approach from the political as well as from the public opinion's point of view.

b. Which Media?

The choice of the media sample on which to focus this research is of course related and somehow restricted by the limited amount of time available. Nevertheless, the cluster of dailies that have been surveyed embodies a fair representation of the printed media landscape in the three countries, as well as a reflection of different political and cultural stances. It was therefore key to apply a selection which encompassed both quality newspapers and popular ones (or tabloids), including examples from opposing political areas together with more “neutral” ones.

In Italy, the choice was based both on diffusion and readership data on one side, and on the cultural relevance of the single dailies – somehow regardless of their sheer sale numbers – on the other.

Corriere della Sera and *La Repubblica* were both the natural choice for such a research: the readership statistics show that their battle for a primacy at a national level allows no third competitors. According to the survey published by the specialized magazine *Primaonline*⁶², which are in turn an elaboration of ADS official data, in the time period between February 2009 and January 2010 *Corriere della Sera* sold on average 470,117 copies a day,

⁶² <http://www.primaonline.it/2010/04/27/80138/quotidiani-gennaioanno-2010/>

whereas *La Repubblica* sold 437,307 copies. These sales put their performances far above any other Italian daily; the only exception is *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, which sells 381,239 copies of its Monday edition and reaches a respectable 305,960 copies on the other days of the week. But this is, as the heading itself makes clear, a specialistic publication which doesn't provide coverage – except minimally – of daily news.

Corriere della Sera was founded in 1876 in Milan by Eugenio Torelli Viollier, and is one of the oldest Italian newspapers still in print. Owned by RCS Quotidiani Spa, it is seen as the voice of moderate liberalism in Italy. Its traditional readership is located in Northern regions and big cities, particularly Milan, where its main offices are still based; the newspaper has always prided itself on its neutral stance and professional detachment towards news and in relation to power, both political and economical, although there have been phases in which this traditional “non-partisanship” was heavily challenged or contested by readers themselves. From an international point of view, *Corriere* might however be defined as a “right-wing broadsheet”⁶³.

La Repubblica is, by contrast, a comparatively young national daily: it was founded in 1976 – a hundred years after *Corriere della Sera* - in Rome by Eugenio Scalfari, former director of the weekly magazine *L'Espresso*. Owned by L'Espresso Group, its political and social stance has always been close to leftwing reformism, shifting between PCI (Italian Communist Party), leftist groups inside DC (Christian Democracy) and, after Mani Pulite and the wiping out of traditional parties, the political array nowadays clustered around PD (Democratic Party). It is also known for its strong opposition to Silvio Berlusconi, which lead to an almost personal battle with the now famous “10

⁶³ See for instance Paul Statham's categorization of European press in his paper *Political Journalism and Europeanization: Pressing Europe?*, published in the Centre for European Political Communication Working Paper Series, Issue 13/06 (http://www.eurpolcom.eu/exhibits/paper_13.pdf)

questions” the newspaper publicly asked the Prime Minister in May 2009⁶⁴. The readership extends over all the country, with a marked identification with moderate leftwing voters. It might therefore be undoubtedly defined as a “left broadsheet”.

A little bit trickier was the choice of the two other dailies, which in my view should be more partisan and less mainstream, in order to pinpoint some more “hidden” – but still very effective, in terms of their impact on people’s opinions - trends in migration narrative. Their agenda-setting power might be less evident, but according to the theory of “issue priming”, their influence on readers belonging to political areas contended for by parties make them relevant players in the national field: as Yiengar writes, “the relative prominence of issues in the news is the major determinant of the public’s perceptions of the problems facing the nation”⁶⁵. Therefore, even newspapers which have a relatively low readership can shape voters’ minds and be influential in giving voice to more “extreme” positions that politicians can’t ultimately ignore. I thus decided to opt for two national dailies that have a distinctive political stance, and are often picked up as “opinion-leading” forums by mainstream media: *Il Giornale* and *il manifesto*.

Il Giornale, founded by the doyen of Italian journalists Indro Montanelli in 1974 and based in Milan, sells 179,410 copies a day. Its ownership is since 1977 linked to Berlusconi’s family; the political position is rightwing, the style is a combination of popular and tabloid. *Il Giornale*, along with its director Vittorio Feltri, has recently been criticized for publishing derogatory and sensationalist articles, as well as unverified informations, in order to

⁶⁴ For a summary of the events, see:

<http://temi.repubblica.it/repubblica-ten-questions-to-berlusconi/>,
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/may/24/silvio-berlusconi-la-repubblica-inquiry>,
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6289660.ece>.

⁶⁵ Shanto Yengar, “Priming Theory”, in *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, ed. by Wolfgang Dörmann, Blackwell 2008;
<http://www.communicationencyclopedia.com/public/>

discredit political opponents of Mr Berlusconi. Its reputation is of being very aggressive, confrontational and extremely partisan.

Il manifesto, founded in 1969 by a group of exiles from the Italian Communist Party, is a political broadsheet based in Rome. It doesn't have an external owner; the journalists themselves are members of a cooperative, which includes also technicians and administrative staff. *Il manifesto* never asked for government financing – as Italian political papers usually do – because it aims not to be identified and linked with a specific party, in order to preserve its independence. It is nonetheless known for supporting political projects carried out by parties and groups positioned to the far left of Parliamentary hemicycle. Its style is very factional and its journalists don't shy away from taking strong stances in hotly-debated issues; its front page is well-known for its sharp, witty and satirical headlines, usually supported by a single gigantic picture with a powerful visual effect. It currently sells 18,266 copies a day.

In order to get comparable results, it was therefore necessary to identify a similar cluster of national dailies in the other countries at the centre of this survey: UK and Germany. As a general remark, it has to be underlined that in neither of the two editorial landscapes we can find a similar presence of strongly political and partisan print media; in the UK, for instance, dailies endorse political parties in the run up to the elections - in fact only the BBC prides itself on being totally impartial -, but it is a choice related to policies more than to fixed party allegiances. In Germany, the political stance of newspapers is very well known, but similarly – and even more relevantly, in a country that is used to have “coalition governments”, which imply a less partisan approach to politics altogether – there is a lack of “house organs”, i.e., media that act as spokespersons for a single political party.

In the UK, therefore, the survey was focused on two broadsheets and two tabloids, with different political orientations. *The Times* and *The Guardian* were chosen as examples of respectively a right- and a left-wing broadsheet. Their readership estimates are quite high, therefore qualifying them as a reasonable example of opinion-leading media in the country: according to the National Readership Survey data (April 2009-March 2010)⁶⁶, *The Times* has a total readership among the adult population of 1,768,000 whereas *The Guardian* falls short of that by a few hundred thousand, with an estimate of 1,124,000.

Founded in 1785, *The Times* is now owned by News International, a part of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation international editorial empire. Traditionally, the political allegiance of *The Times* stands with the Tories, but in 2001 and 2005 it endorsed Tony Blair's Labour. It might be described as moderate conservative.

Founded in Manchester in 1861 (but based in London since the Sixties), *The Guardian* is unique among major British newspapers in being owned by a foundation (the Scott Trust, via the Guardian Media Group). It is known for its left-of-centre political stance; in 2005, 48% of its readers were Labour voters, and 34% Lib-Dem voters. At the 2010 election it supported the Liberal Democrats⁶⁷. The paper's op-eds and comments pages host nonetheless articles from more conservative and right-wing voices. Its website ranks currently amongst the most read English-language news websites worldwide.

On the tabloids side, the choice fell upon *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*. The reasons underlying the choice are – again - the readership estimates on one side, the political line on the other. With its reported 7,751,000 readers, *The Sun* is incontrovertibly the most successful British daily to date; *The Daily Mirror* ranks third – after *The Daily Mail* – with its 3,381,000 estimate.

⁶⁶ <http://www.nrs.co.uk/>

⁶⁷ For data and quotes, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Guardian

By circulation, *The Sun* – founded in Wapping in 1964 - is considered to be the tenth biggest newspaper in the world (although the ranking includes Sunday newspapers such as *News of the World*)⁶⁸; its agenda-setting power is therefore massive. Like *The Times*, it is owned by Murdoch's News Corporation; its political alignment is populist, and it is currently backing the Conservative Party (whereas in 1997 its endorsement went to the Labour Party). Alleged illegal immigration runs high on *The Sun*'s agenda, somehow taking over from the "Broken Britain" campaign which was prominent in 2007-2009. The daily's style also stresses a sensationalistic approach and follows aggressive or partisan headlines and coverage.

The *Daily Mirror*, founded in 1903 as a "newspaper for women, run by women", became one of the best-sellers amongst Britain newspapers by its huge working-class readership; after the Seventies, its popularity has been almost constantly declining. In 2002 it briefly changed its masthead logo's colour – from red to black – in an attempt to differentiate itself from the "red-top", sensationalist mass-market tabloids; its political alignment has been consistently Labour/Centre-Left, thus its efforts to outdistance itself from other conservative tabloids, albeit applying similar stylistic and editorial strategies. It is owned by Trinity Mirror, Britain's biggest newspaper group, which publishes around 240 regional papers.

As for the German media, the choice was possibly even knottier. The presence of *Bild*, being it the fifth top-selling newspaper worldwide, was somehow mandatory; but there are no left-wing tabloids in Germany that could match its role, so I opted for a daily which is closer to Italy's *il manifesto* – both in its readership and in its political stance - than to *The Daily Mirror*: the *taz* (an acronym for *Tageszeitung*, meaning "daily newspaper").

⁶⁸ <http://www.mondonewspapers.com/circulation/worldtop100.html>

On the broadsheet side, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Welt* seemed to embody the two fringes of the political spectrum.

Süddeutsche Zeitung, published in Munich and founded on October 6th, 1945 – the first newspaper to receive a publishing licence by US military administration – is currently the largest national subscription daily in Germany. Its readership is on average 1.1 million people a day (with a circulation of 559,207 copies)⁶⁹; the editorial stance is left-wing; ironically, it is the leading media in a Land (“state”) such Bavaria, which has been ruled by conservative parties almost without interruption since 1949.

Die Welt, founded in Hamburg in 1946, had the original aim of providing a “quality newspaper” on the model of *The Times*. It describes itself as adopting a “liberal cosmopolitan” stance, but is commonly defined as a conservative broadsheet. The main offices are in Berlin, but it also has a range of regional and local editions. It is the flagship newspaper of Axel Springer Verlag (one of the largest publishing companies in Europe, with over 150 newspapers and magazines in 30 countries; its corporate principles – as defined in 1967 – are openly liberal and it has a history of confrontation with left-wing groups and parties⁷⁰), selling around 350,240 copies a day.

Yet the real battleship of AS Verlag is *Bild*, one of the most successful world tabloids; founded in 1952, it has always maintained its centre-right populist political alignment. Its motto is *unabhängig, überparteilich* (independent, non-partisan). Printed nationwide – with headquarters in Berlin – it has 32 localized editions. Modeled after the *Daily Mirror*, although broader in size, *Bild* displays a typical mix of celebrity gossip, crime stories and political analysis. The language is basic, the articles shorter than in most

⁶⁹ All data on circulation of German newspapers are collected by Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V., <http://www.ivw.de/>

⁷⁰ The “5 sociopolitical ground principles” can be found (in German) on Axel Springer’s website, at http://www.axelspringer.de/artikel/Unternehmensgrundsätze_40574.html

tabloids, and the use of pictures overwhelming. The employment of sensationalistic and emotionally overcharged headlines is common. Stories are sometimes based on dubious evidence, to the extent that one of the most popular “watchblogs” on German media was named Bildblog⁷¹, and was initially devoted to report mistakes and fabrications on *Bild*’s pages. Despite all the controversies, *Bild* sells currently 3,918,507 copies a day⁷².

Taz is somehow a disadvantaged competitor in this group: selling only an average 80,262 copies a day, it is a cooperative-owned daily that rose from the progressive and left-leaning movements of the 70s in Berlin. Its political allegiance has varied along the years, having endorsed quite often the German Green Party, at the same time being critical of its alliance with Socialists; politics and social issues, both at a national and global scale, are nonetheless at the centre of its coverage. The newspaper has always defined itself as an “irreverent, commercially independent, intelligent and entertaining” alternative to the mainstream press. Similarly to its Italian counterpart, *il manifesto*, the *taz* is well-known for its tongue-in-cheek headlines, such as: *Es ist ein Mädchen* (It’s a girl), when Angela Merkel was appointed first female Chancellor of Germany, or *Oops - they did it again!*, when George W. Bush was re-elected as President of the USA.

⁷¹ <http://www.bildblog.de/>

⁷² Due to the availability on Factiva, the survey is based on the online edition of the newspaper – which includes the national print edition anyway.

3. THE RIOTS IN ROSARNO AS A CASE STUDY.

WHEN VIOLENCE IS THE ONLY VOICE TO BE HEARD

“Individuals can commit illegal acts... but how can a human being
be deemed an ‘illegal’ person?”

Report of San Francisco State University’s Center
for Integration and Improvement of Journalism⁷³

“Nei prossimi anni e finché non arriverà almeno una parola di scuse,
Rosarno sarà un nome maledetto che riecheggerà
negli Internet café di Lagos, nelle comunicazioni Skype da Accra,
nelle chiamate intercontinentali con Ouagadougou”

Antonello Mangano⁷⁴

Rosarno⁷⁵ is a small town in the province of Reggio Calabria, in the Mediterranean countryside of Southern Italy. Having less than 16,000 residents, it has become home for a substantial wave of seasonal workers coming from both Eastern Europe and African countries; its fertile plain is the perfect place for the production of orange and citrus fruit, olive oil, and wines. But if the relative wealth of Rosarno comes from the fruit harvest as well as the production of olive oil, juices and candied peels, it is not the *rosarnesi* who are directly involved in creating it: in recent years, a great share of the agricultural work has been done by migrants, both legally and illegally present on Italian territory.

⁷³ Center for Investigation and Improvement of Journalism, *News Watch: A Critical Look at Coverage of People of Color*, San Francisco 1994

⁷⁴ “In the next few years and until at least a word of apology is uttered, Rosarno will be a cursed name that will echo in Lagos Internet cafés, during Skype chats from Accra, along international phone calls with Ouagadougou”; A. Mangano, *Gli africani salveranno l'Italia* (“Africans will save Italy”), *Bur* 2010, p.20

⁷⁵ <http://www.comune.rosarno.rc.it/> and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosarno>

Rosarno is also a cradle of *'ndrangheta*, a mafia-type organisation based in Calabria. According to the research and investigations carried out by the parliamentary Antimafia Commission, its main business in this area is precisely related to the production and sale of fruit and vegetables⁷⁶; it is no surprise, therefore, that a fair share of the seasonal immigrant workers are forced to enter an illegal job market, from which *'ndrangheta* men earn conspicuous amounts of money. As a Bulgarian woman reported to the DDA (District Antimafia Direction) officers in May 2009:

“...the *caporali* [illegal intermediaries between the work force and the landowners] spent time finding landowners for us to work for, then they drove me to the fields and remained there to check how the work went... It quite often happened that workers were tired and maybe slowed down a bit; in that case they told them to hurry up and if we weren't fast enough they beat us... they never paid anyone, they made us work and then told us that the 'boss' hadn't given them the money yet, therefore they wouldn't pay us. This happened with everybody, but especially with Moroccans whose papers weren't in order and therefore could be blackmailed. The earning for a day's work is 23 euros. The wage was like that because the landowners gave them around 28 euros for each worker, and they withheld 5 euros as a compensation for finding you the job and for the trip to the fields”⁷⁷.

The first, small wave of migrants from Africa and Europe in this area dates back to 1992, when a kilo of oranges still cost 1,400 *lire* – today the price has plunged down to a risible 10-20 Euro cents. In 2006 it was estimated that about 5,000 illegal migrants were living in the region, often in the most precarious conditions.

⁷⁶ See the *Annual report on 'Ndrangheta* produced by the Commission under the presidency of Francesco Forgione and approved by Italian Parliament on 19/02/2008: www.camera.it/_dati/leg15/lavori/documentiparlamentari/indiceetesti/023/005/INTERO.pdf

⁷⁷ A. Mangano, *quot.*, p.118

The situation became so tense that clashes between local inhabitants and immigrants erupted in the most violent way. In December 2008 an armed man entered an abandoned factory where over a hundred seasonal farm workers were sleeping and shot two of them (a 21-year-old guy from Ivory Coast was seriously injured). The following day, migrants protested in a peaceful way along Rosarno's street: in a letter to the prefectural commissioner – the town council had at the time already been dissolved because of infiltrations by *'ndrangheta* members – they filed a request for “more humane and dignified treatment”. Their call was apparently left unheard: on January 7th 2010, local youths attacked immigrants on their way back from work with air rifles. The reaction of farm workers, mostly of African origin, broke out in a sudden and violent way: migrants took to the streets, setting cars and bins on fire, smashing shop windows and allegedly threatening local inhabitants. Some 2,000 of them, mostly from Ghana and Burkina Faso, tried to re-enact the peaceful protest of 2008, demonstrating in front of the Town Hall; but the situation quickly deteriorated with a counter-attack by local inhabitants, who began to build roadblocks and to hunt down immigrants in the streets of Rosarno, beating them with clubs and metal bars or shooting at them with buckshot rifles. After two days of violence, the official report released by Reggio Calabria's police headquarters counted 53 injured: 21 were migrants, 8 of whom had to be hospitalized. In the following days, 709 migrants were transferred elsewhere – 440 to Crotone's CPA (Centre for First Reception), 269 to Bari's one. Some hundreds of migrants left on their own. The final balance of the arrests after the riots was of 3 Italians, 7 foreigners⁷⁸. None of the landowners or the “caporali” was arrested or investigated – notwithstanding reports which underlined the role *'ndrangheta* played in fuelling the incidents - whereas the migrants caught without documents (or whose documents had expired) were detained in a CIE (Centre of

⁷⁸ A. Mangano, *quot.*, p.20

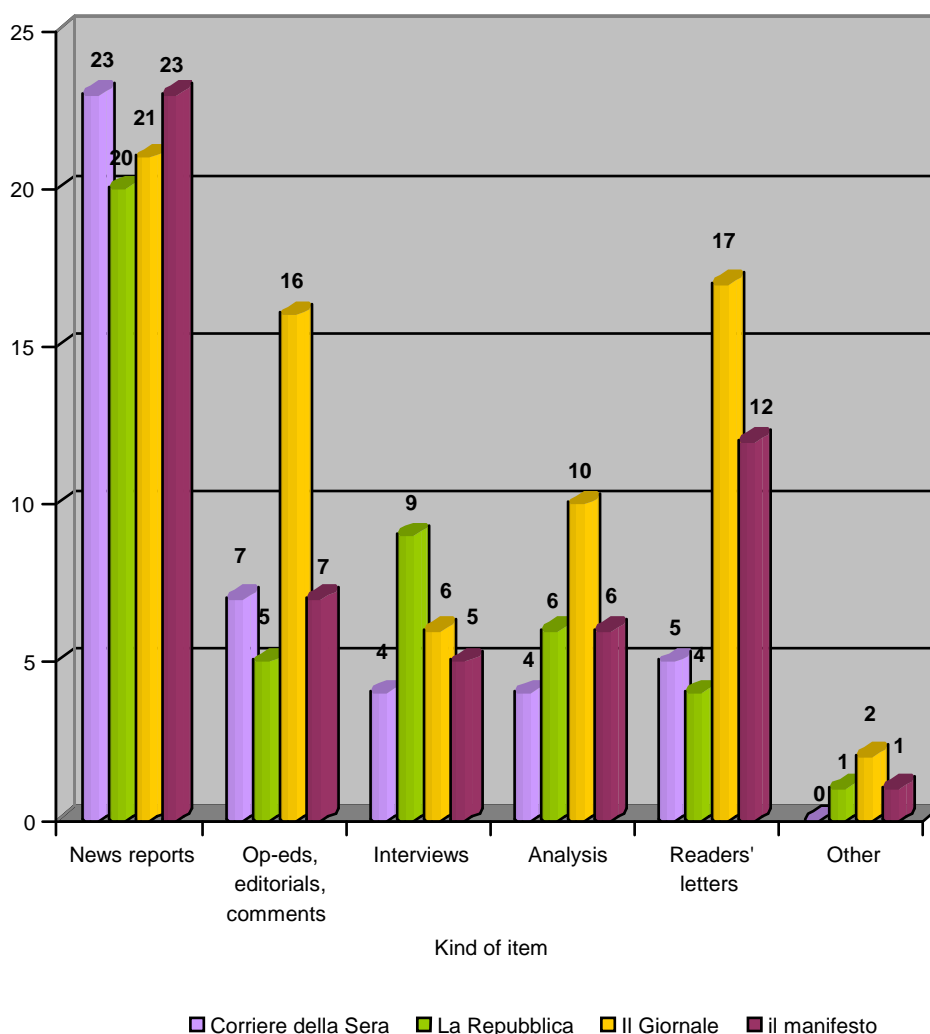
Identification and Expulsion), one of the government's centres for illegal foreigners waiting for expulsion. Only the injured were given a temporary residence permit on humanitarian grounds.

a. Italian Media and the Portrayal of Fear

Rosarno's riots were reported extensively by the Italian media, with a coverage that lasted for over two weeks; the small town in Calabria rapidly became a symbol for the inflammatory side of migration.

The mere number of articles which were published in the seven days after the clashes is significant in measuring the media interest in the issue: 45 on *La Repubblica*'s pages, 58 on *Corriere della Sera*, 71 on *Il Giornale*, 54 on *il manifesto* (which isn't issued on a Monday)⁷⁹. It was, in any case, a huge investment in terms of space as well as the result of precise editorial choices. Rosarno is not regarded merely as a casual incident; on the contrary, it is considered and represented as the paradigm of an untenable situation, where migration flows aggravate social and economic emergencies.

⁷⁹ From the methodological point of view, I have to underline how Dow Jones-Factiva does have some flaws in covering *La Repubblica*, since it mixes local and national editions, without reporting the page number as well as other relevant information. I would therefore recommend, when broadening the scope of this pilot project, using physical archives. In the present paper, I opted for not including the articles published in the local editions of Bari, Bologna, Naples, Florence; *Corriere della Sera* doesn't include the same sections in Factiva, therefore the image would have been definitely unbalanced. There is also an odd lack of coverage for January 8th, on *Repubblica*'s as well as on *il manifesto*'s pages.



The high number of news reports was often balanced by the presence of op-eds, editorials, comments and analysis (see above): *Repubblica* published at least a comment a day, whereas *Il Giornale* devoted most of the editorials written by its director, Vittorio Feltri, to the facts of Rosarno.

One of these editorials, together with *Il Giornale*'s choice of providing a coverage pretty much focused on its ideological right-wing position, ended up raising a debate that spilled over into the whole landscape of Italian media, somehow unveiling the existence – or rather persistence – of what might be considered the “Achilles heel” of the Italian debate on migration: racism. Two peculiar features of *Il Giornale*'s coverage are in fact embodied by the debate

on whether Italians are to be considered racist, on the one hand, and on the use of the derogatory word *negro* – as pejorative and unacceptable as “nigger” in English, whereas *nero* is to be seen as “black” –, on the other. The first string of articles includes headlines such as “We aren’t racist, but now we are tired” (9/01) as a reply to the migrants’ claim, “Against us racism and violence”, dutifully reported on the same day. Other examples are “Racism? Nonsense, behind the riots lags a new subsidy fraud” (12/01), “The town parades with the foreigners: ‘It is not true that we are racists’” (12/01), “Egypt lectures Italy. They kill Christians and then call us racists” (13/01). The strategy involves blaming local citizens for the “fraud” – following in Lega Nord’s steps, thus representing the South as a fortress of illegality that tries to cheat on the richer and more honest North – as well as turning the perspective upside down: since the Egyptian government had reprimanded Italy for the alleged mistreatment of its citizens, *Il Giornale* chose to counter-attack by reminding its readers of the killings of Christians in the country of the pyramids. The second strategy takes its move from an editorial signed by Feltri: “Those who miss the target. Instead of shooting at niggers, shoot at mafia men” (12/1), followed by “Here’s why we call niggers the Africans (and we are right)” (12/01)⁸⁰, “The problems are the slaves, not the niggers” (13/01), “They call them blacks but they treat them as niggers” (14/01).

Il manifesto also resorts to the tools of editorial and comments on one hand, and analysis and interviews on the other, in order to express its ideological and political position regarding the issue; the comments bear strikingly provocative headlines, such as “Hunting blacks: that’s how Rosarno’s youth has fun” (9/01), or “Bulldozers” (12/01, front page) – a single word used to

⁸⁰ See Fig. 1, p.44: 4 headlines out of 9 on that day’s frontpage were dealing with the question of an “Italian identity”, the debate on whether Italian South is racist (the claim is that it isn’t), the “worse treatment” that “our emigrants” suffered when compared to the harshness migrants are enduring in Italy. It is worth to note that Feltri’s use of the word “negro” was harshly criticised by Pierluigi Battista on *Corriere*’s front page, thus trying to put limits on the debate.

summarize the reproach for the local authorities' idea of transforming Rognetta's "lager" (one of the abandoned factories where Rosarno's migrants used to seek shelter) into a square.

The salient characteristic that emerges from this first set of data seems to be the inclination, on the side of ideologically engaged newspapers (*il manifesto* and *Il Giornale*), to support, explain and corroborate their respective positions with a broad use of partisan and biased writing – which translates, from the journalistic point of view, into editorials or comments. On the other hand, newspapers like *La Repubblica* or – even more so – *Corriere della Sera*, which have always prided themselves on being "neutral" and detached, tend to limit the number of opinions and favour extensive news coverage. My argument here is that, despite this attempt, biases surface – through language, discourse, iconography – even in the most detached news report. It is also interesting to note how the same "partisan" dailies chose to publish a far higher number of readers' letters than their "moderate" counterparts, thus corroborating their editorial stance (none of the letters expresses any divergence from the newspaper's political line).

Another relevant set of data, which I will only briefly touch upon for the sake of brevity, is related to the day of publication as well as to the section of the newspaper in which the articles are published. As one could expect, coverage reaches its top level in the days between 10th and 12th of January; the first 2 days after the clashes – namely, 8th and 9th of January – provide a far more limited number of features. This might be related to the time needed in order to send journalists to the spot, but also – and even more – to the fact that it took a while before the discussion on the 'ndrangheta's role entered the field. Furthermore, it was the intervention of Roberto Maroni, minister of the Interior, which fuelled the debate: in the immediate aftermath of the first

clashes, he stated that “it’s illegal migrants who bring deterioration”⁸¹, thus amplifying the debate and its coverage.

At the same time, it is interesting to underline how the national media keep a high focus on Rosarno, by dedicating the first section of the newspaper to it at least for the first 4 days: *Corriere della Sera* published 26 features in the front pages (from 2 to 6), out of which 21 appeared between 8th and 11th of January; *il manifesto* scores 28, 21 of which also concentrated on the first 5 days (the daily, as I mentioned, is not printed on a Monday); *Il Giornale* achieves an impressive total number of 34, out of which 27 were published between 9th and 12th of January⁸².

Headlines are another relevant indicator of how the narrative on migration, particularly when emergencies are involved, is usually shaped by catchphrases and emotionally overcharged passwords. Sensationalistic and melodramatic bywords are a favorite in all examined publications, but it is quite blatant that there is a correspondance between the political commitment on one side, and the recourse to shocking or simplifying headlines on the other.

The provocative stance of Feltri’s *Il Giornale* has already surfaced with the remarks on the use of the word “negro”; from a broader point of view, its headlines during the scrutinized week are generally – as in the tradition of this right-wing oriented broadsheet – quite shocking and outspoken. The first news coverage’s headline is “Violence explodes in Calabria. Immigrants rioting, a town put to the sword”. The emphasis on conflict and physical threat is a constant throughout the week; the tone is set by words such as “guerrilla” and “civil war”, often avoiding to mention that the riots followed the shooting of some migrants by local youth. At the same time, migrants are

⁸¹ A. Mangano, quot., p. 135

⁸² As already stated, *La Repubblica*’s data on this specific point are not available, since Factiva doesn’t provide page numbers for this source.

classified altogether as illegal (“Clashes, shootings, and 37 wounded. Civil war in Rosarno. After the revolt of clandestines, residents’ violent reaction”, 9/01).

Facts and figures are often referred to in an exaggerated and emphasized way, such as in “One thousand new desperates doomed to crowd other Italian ghettos” (10/1), whereas in the follow-up to the clashes it became clear that only a few dozen migrants actually fled the South, heading towards Northern cities (“On the run from hell: the first 20 ‘slaves’ reach Milan”, 12/01 – a headline which also shows how the term “slave” might be used in order to isolate migrants by defining them as a separate category versus “normal” citizens).

On the opposite side of the ideological spectrum, *il manifesto* often opts for symbolic or sarcastic headlines, such as “The hunt” and “The fugitives”, or “Ku Klux Klan” (frontpage headline on Sunday’s edition, 10/1); and again, “The day of the good ones – Belpaese” (Belpaese, roughly translated as “Beautiful country”, being one of Italy’s traditional nicknames), over an article which tells how people from Rosarno try to ignore the “ethnic cleansing” (12/1). “We accuse” is clearly a direct reference to Emile Zola’s letter to the President of Republic on the Dreyfus affair, on January 13th, 1898: exactly 102 years later, *il manifesto* quotes the most famous case of intellectual engagement on behalf of human rights in recounting how 10 migrants brought to an identification and expulsion centre near Crotone are nonetheless ready and willing to report the names of their exploiters (13/1).

Whereas headlines in the cases mentioned above are clearly appealing to readers’ ideological stance, the approach is definitely different when it comes to the two broadsheets, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*.

BERLUSCONI FIRMA

NUOVO CONTRATTO CON GLI ITALIANI

Riforme di giustizia, forma dello Stato e fisco; scudo contro le scorribande di certi pm: il pacchetto varato ieri apre le porte alla rivoluzione liberale. È l'ultima occasione. E se ci sta anche Fini...

di Alessandro Sallusti

Non è stato firmato in diretta tv come accade nel 2001, e ciò non è un male. Ma quello siglato ieri dai vertici del Pdl a palazzo Grazioli ricorda molto il «contratto con gli italiani» che Silvio Berlusconi si impegnò a rispettare da una scrivania dello studio di Porta a Porta con notai Bruno Vespa. Di più. Allora si era in cinque giorni dalle elezioni e la cosa prese inevitabilmente un sapore elettorale. Oggi la stessa maggioranza, orfana di Casini, è al governo e numericamente in grado di onorare gli impegni. Che sono questi: riforme costituzionali della giustizia e della forma di Stato, riforma fiscale con obiettivo due aliquote seche, oltre a immediati provvedimenti ponte (processo breve e legittimo impedimento) anche per mettere al riparo i premieri il governo dalle scorribande di certa magistratura.

Un pacchetto del genere non lo si era mai visto e se realizzato potrebbe davvero innescare quella rivoluzione liberale che si attende dal crollo della Prima Repubblica. Usiamo il «se» non per scetticismo ma per cautela. Non è facile avere ancora fiducia in una classe politica che nell'ultimo anno non ha certo dato un grande spettacolo di sé stessa. Se c'è da essere ottimisti è per un motivo: questa è davvero l'ultima occasione del centro-destra per dimostrare la sua diversità e dare un senso concreto e definitivo al fenomeno Silvio Berlusconi. I segnali ci sono tutti. Il presidente della Camera Gianfranco Fini, al quale non abbiamo risparmiato critiche per alcune sue posizioni ostili al governo, si è rimesso in gioco dentro il Pdl, l'unico schieramento in cui la sua storia e il suo futuro hanno un senso logico e comprensibile dagli elettori. E Giulio Tremonti si sta rendendo disponibile a valutare, dopo anni (...)

segue a pagina 3
Bozzo, De Francesco, Greco, La Manna,
Lehner, Scotti, Signore
e Tornelli da pagina 3 a pagina 6

La «democrazia» del Pd

**Le primarie valgono
quando si sa chi vince**

di Vittorio Macioce
a pagina 10



**Le tasse? Un successo
non aumentarle
Anche con la crisi**

di Lodovico Festa

Per la prima volta a Roma dopo l'aggressione di piazza del Duomo, Silvio Berlusconi ha detto: «Sperosi possa fare quest'anno, soprattutto se c'è la volontà di tutte le parti» riferendosi alla riforma della tassa sui redditi personali (Irpef) a due sole aliquote (23 e 35 per cento) ripresa nei giorni scorsi. «Ripropone cose di cui parla ormai da 16 anni», ha detto Pier Ferdinando Casini. «Cominci davvero a fare le cose e non solo a prometterle», ha detto Guglielmo Epitani. «Porta troppi soldi verso i ricchi», ha aggiunto Pierluigi Bersani. Mentre dalla Cisl è venuto l'invito a partire da (...)

segue a pagina 6

SOSPETTI ALL'UNIVERSITÀ

Il magnifico concorso di Padova: il posto va al figlio dell'ex rettore

Una mail al «Giornale» 10 giorni prima del test: «Vincerà lui, è già deciso»

Stefano Filippi

■ La mail anonima è arrivata al «Giornale» l'1 dicembre. «Vi comunico che il vincitore della selezione 2009/10 dell'università di Padova sarà Federico Milanese. Ovvero il figlio dell'ex rettore Vincenzo per un posto a tempo indeterminato. E così è stato: 10 giorni dopo grazie a un concorso dall'esito annunciato.

a pagina 21

**Quote fisse negli atenei
Se Sarkò impone i poveri
impovertisce chi merita**

di Stefano Zecchi

a pagina 19

IL DIBATTITO

Ma essere italiani oggi cosa vuol dire?

di Eugenio De Rienzo

■ Nell'ottobre dello scorso anno, Eric Besson, titolare del nuovo dicastero dell'immigrazione, dell'integrazione e dell'identità nazionale, creato nel 2007, ha lanciato un «grande dibattito» sul significato dell'«essere francese oggi», destinato a coinvolgere politici, amministratori, intellettuali, ma anche comuni cittadini chiamati a interrogarsi su questo tema con un questionario diffuso nella rete (www.debatidentite.nationale.fr) e attraverso incontri periodici organizzati nei 96 dipartimenti (...)

segue a pagina 32

Gruppo BancaEtruria

BancaEtruria
Popolare davvero

Risposta al «Corriere»

**Ecco perché
chiamiamo negri
gli africani
(e abbiamo ragione)**

di Vittorio Feltri

Caro Pierluigi Battista, mi rimproveri garbatamente sul Corriere della Sera di ieri di aver ostentato per ben due volte il sostantivo negro in altrettanti titoli di prima pagina. L'ho fatto apposta. Volevo verificare le reazioni di quelli che rispettano i negri a parole - venite venite, siamo vostri amici e vi ospiteremo volentieri - ma non muovono un dito se poi gli immigrati sono ridotti in schiavitù, sottopagati, maltrattati e costretti a vivere come insetti.

Ciò che sospettavo potesse avvenire è puntualmente avvenuto. Hanno criticato il vocabolo (convinti erroneamente da offensivo) e, quasi fosse trascurabile, sorvolato sulla realtà che ho descritto assumendo una posizione netta: la colpa dei disordini a Roma non è dei clandestini ma di chi li ha chiamati qui apposta per sfruttarli, cioè i mafiosi con l'acquiescenza della popolazione.

A parte questo, le argomentazioni che usi per condannare all'indice «negro» sono deboli. Non lo dico io, per carità, bensì Manlio e Michele Cortelazzo curatori del nuovo Dizionario Etimologico di Zanichelli, da cui fedelmente riporto: «Di recente negro «di razza nera» è stato prosritto, come denigratorio, ma senza un obiettivo fondamento come faceva notare il Vademecum di giornalismo a cura di Sergio Lepri ed altri, stampato nel 1992 per l'Agenzia Ansa».

Andiamo a leggere cosa dice il Vademecum di Lepri: «Fino a qualche tempo fa la parola negro non aveva nessuna connotazione dispregiativa; poi, per influenza dell'inglese (che preferisce black a negro) e del francese (che usa noir e non nègre) anche in Italia c'è chi sostiene che negro non sia un'espressione simpatica e che debba essere sostituito da nero (nonostante che nero sia servito e serva ancora a indicare l'estremista di destra); in attesa che l'uso risolva il problema, si potrebbe suggerire di usare negro come sostantivo e nero come aggettivo».

Se mi consenti, poiché non mi garba di assoggettarli alle mode anglofoniche e alle politiche corrette, continuerò a scrivere di irra negro (sostantivo) assottando i consigli di Lepri che tutto mi sembra tranne che negriero, come d'altronde non hanno fama di negrieri Manlio e (...)

segue a pagina 14
Cusani, Cutrupi e Ferrara
alle pagine 12 e 13

**Il Sud non è razzista:
deve solo tornare
a essere più terrone**

di Marcello Veneziani

a pagina 15

**E i nostri emigranti
furono trattati peggio
di questi immigrati**

di Giancarlo Perna

a pagina 14



monge
Più avanti nel pet food

www.monge.it

www.ilgiornale.it Cosa significa essere italiani? Di la tua scrivendo a essereitaliani@ilgiornale.it

Fig.1: Il Giornale's front page, January 12th, 2010



52

Il caso Calabria Gli scontri

I numeri
del fenomeno

15.000

Gli abitanti di Rosarno, comune in
provincia di Reggio Calabria

A Rosarno esplode la rabbia

Assalti e spari agli immigrati

La gente imbraccia i fucili, gravi due stranieri. Il governo invia oltre 200 rinforzi

DA UNO DEI NOSTRI INVIATI

ROSARNO (Reggio Calabria) — Il confine tra la vita e la morte è un muretto alto due metri. Il ragazzo nero lo salta con un balzo disperato e poi corre, si lascia indietro le urla di venti giovani calabresi armati di mazze, spranghe, fiondi e manganello. «U sar tau», ringhiano, «U sar tau». Sì, l'ha saltato ed è salvo. L'altro bracciante africano che era con lui scappa per i campi, lo inseguono come una muta di cani da caccia, incipisciano nelle zolle, si perdono in lontananza dove cominciano gli alberi. Da un balcone del primo piano un gruppo di donne indica il giardino di casa gridando: «Un nero s'è nascosto quaggiù». I rosarnesi entrano, si acquattano per guardare sotto le foglie delle piante basse, lo chiamano: «Cuginecetto, dove sei?».

Jack Nicholson in *Shining* faceva meno paura. Non trovano la preda. È l'imbenire e alla contrada Rosco di Rosarno c'è ancora una barricata di carcasse d'auto e copertoni bruciati che interrompe la statale 18 in direzione Gioia Tauro. Dietro, protetto da una trentina di poliziotti in assetto antisommossa, sta l'ingresso della ex fabbrica dove sono nascosti almeno un migliaio di africani. Le macchine bruciate sono opera loro, resti della rivolta di giovedì sera. È a bordo di una di quelle che viaggiava Antonella Bruzese, la ragazza che ieri è comparsa in tv con un occhio pesto, raccontando di quando gli immigrati l'hanno tirata giù e assalita. Momenti di terrore. Ma la vendetta dei calabresi è altrettanto terribile. Caccia all'uomo. O «andare a marocchini», come dicono qui quando hanno voglia di scherzare e simulano il lin-

guaggio venatorio: ieri due africani sono stati feriti dai colpi di un fucile caricato a pallini lungo la strada che va a Laureana di Borrello, altri due sono stati presi a sprangate a Rosarno (sono quelli in condizioni più gravi), cinque o sei sono stati investiti con le macchine. Per le strade è il Far West nel primo pomeriggio: un giovane africano con la testa insanguinata si aggira con un'asse di legno in mano, una macchina gli passa di fianco a 60 all'ora, lui colpisce il lunotto e lo rompe, tre carabinieri

gli saltano addosso mentre l'autista scende e cerca di farsi giustizia da sé. L'immigrato se ne va in ambulanza. L'italiano si chiama Antonio Bellocchio e lo portano via in manette, un militare finisce in infermeria. Quando verso le sei di pomeriggio il commissario prefettizio che governa Rosarno legge il bilancio degli scontri parla di 7 arresti e 32 feriti, 14 immigrati e 18 uomini delle forze dell'ordine. Ma sono cifre provvisorie, in paese c'è ancora battaglia, continua la caccia al nero che si è aperta al

matino in una traversa della via Nazionale, quando un gruppetto di calabresi vede un ragazzo di colore e comincia a rincorrerlo. Quello corre più veloce dei suoi inseguitori, salta un muretto e s'infila in un cortile. Gli assaltatori circondano lo stabile, i poliziotti si fanno largo a fatica, entrano e portano via il ragazzo fingendo di arrestarlo. Lui sta al gioco, tiene le mani dietro la schiena mentre lo caricano su una macchina e lo salvano dal linciaggio. Poco prima un uomo era salito sul tetto di casa sua sparando un paio di colpi di fucile in aria al passaggio di un gruppo di bracciati. È stato denunciato.

A Rosarno si fronteggiano due eserciti di poveracci. Tra i mazzieri calabresi c'è chi ha le mani callose per il lavoro nei campi e per oggi i segni delle zappe ha deciso di usarli come armi: «Noi siamo le vittime».

dicono —. Hanno picchiato le nostre donne e la polizia prima ci ha chiesto aiuto per sedare la rivolta e poi ci ha mangianellato quando abbiamo provato a reagire. Ma cosa dobbiamo fare?». E anche quelli che non hanno messo mano a mazze e bastoni protestano, chiedono sicurezza e risposte, vogliono l'espulsione dei clandestini, stringono d'assedio il palazzo del municipio dal mattino fino a sera. Dall'altra parte ci sono gli immigrati, ormai in rotta: vorrebbero scappare, andare il più lontano possibile da qui. «Vogliamo andare via, qui non si può restare». Andare dove? «Non lo so, a Napoli, a Roma, a Milano». I trecento che fino a ieri abitavano fra i topi alla Rognetta, una fabbrica dismessa a due passi dal centro, hanno preparato i bagagli: buste dei discount piene di panni sporchi, fornelli da campo, sacchi a pelo.

Ma questo esodo di straccioni è troppo pericoloso. «Rimanete dentro, vi prego, la fuori è rischioso per voi» implorano gli assistenti della Caritas. Per tutto il giorno polizia e carabinieri tengono i migranti raggruppati davanti al loro dormitorio. Alle undici di sera, mentre oltre 200 uomini delle forze dell'ordine vengono a rinforzare le squadre impegnate a Rosarno, iniziano le manovre per portare via i bracciati. E così se

IL COMMENTO
di Antonio Macaluso
rete idee & opinioni

Il Comune presidiato

In segno di protesta
un comitato di cittadini
presidia a oltranza
il palazzo del Comune

I colpi dal balcone

Fermato un uomo
che ha sparato in aria
dal balcone al passare
degli immigrati

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Fig. 3: Il Corriere della Sera, page 2, January 9th, 2010

Traditionally, *Corriere*'s headlines are usually neutral and concise. There is a widespread recourse to direct quotes from the main subject speaking in the article, thus placing at a distance his/her opinion from the newspaper's stance ("Calderoli: we are defending law. Religious racism belongs to them", 13/1; "Italy is racist, too much hatred", referred to the Pope's speech, 12/1; "Amongst the Africans who chose to stay: 'What a madness to attempt a revolt'", 11/1). In some cases, the emphasis brought out the worst facets of Rosarno's condition – primarily the strong ties between the latest violence's outbursts and the presence of organized criminality in the area – which surface in the headlines with an unusual dramatization: "The magistrate: this is Calabria's Corleone", 11/1 (with a clear and strong reference to Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather*); "Immigrants' exodus from Rosarno", 10/1; "In the asbestos' ghetto of Eboli. Foreigners' clearing out kicks off", 13/1. But there are also news reports flagged by aggressive and sensationalistic bylines, which restate the government's firm stance against migration and somehow blur the line between victims and culprits: "Final goal: to hand them over to detention centres. If they refuse, a blitz will take place" (9/1), or "Maroni: 'We are too soft on clandestines'" (9/1), with the word "clandestine" employed in a generalizing way.

La Repubblica follows in the footsteps of its main competitor, but as a general rule, its comments, editorials and op-eds bear more epic and symbolic headlines, with an attempt to condense into a single emotional sentence the whole story, thus reducing the amount of information conveyed to the reader and obscuring the topic: "The bitter exodus of Rosarno's thousand", 10/1; "On the barricades, black people's hunters: 'they are animals'", 10/1; "Rosarno's hell and who is responsible for it", 10/1; "Hell in the South, warm meals in the North. In migrant camps there is a double Italy", 11/1; "Those silences on illegal work", 14/1. On 11/1, "From Bulgarians to Ukrainians, the

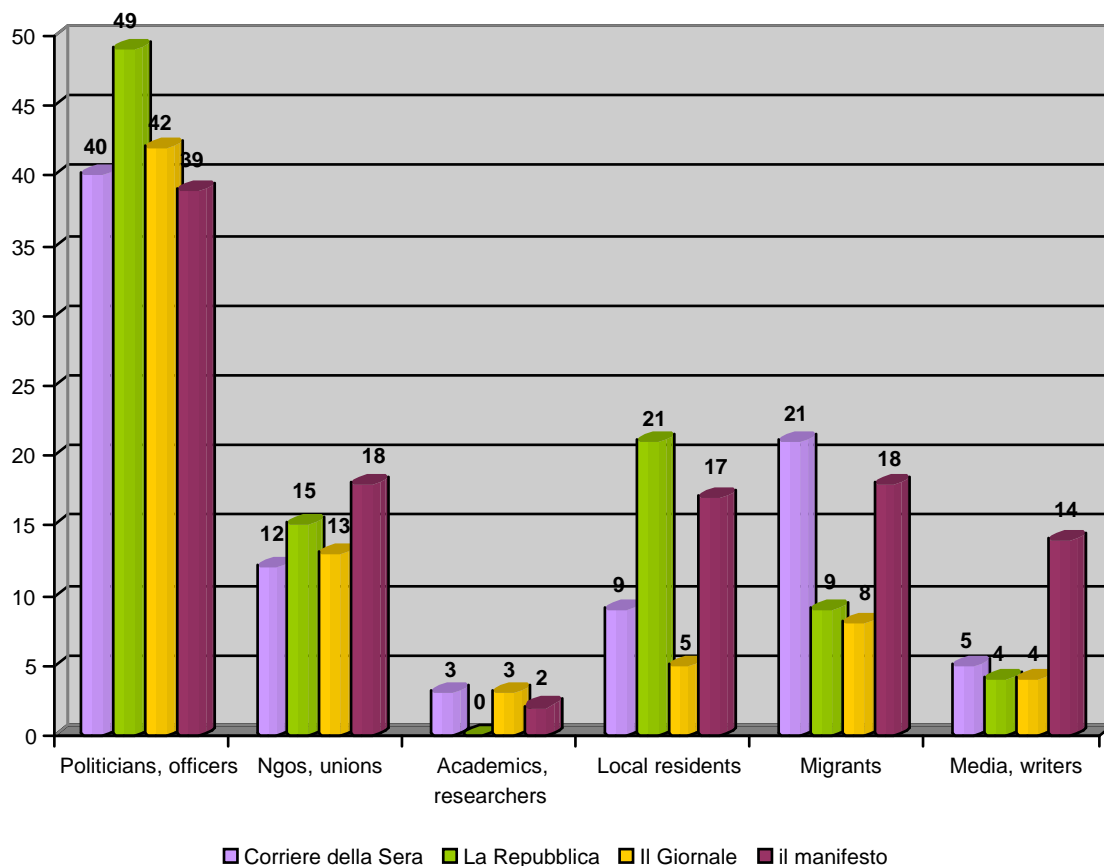
fear of the others” portrays a division in the migrant community that ultimately underlines Africans’ total isolation.

As a conclusion, every newspaper seems to fall prey, at various degrees, to the temptation of inflating news and portraying the sensationalistic, simplified version of the story. The readers are therefore presented with a coverage that kicks off with strong negative messages, and an identification of the “migrant issue” with disturbing concepts such as emergency, segregation, and cultural differences. In addition to that, it is interesting to underline how the iconographic aspect might be at odds with the body text and the headlines themselves: both *il manifesto* and *Corriere della Sera* publish a very strong and powerful image (see Figures 2 and 3, pages 51-52), which captures one of the hottest moments of the riot, when migrants took onto the streets and set tyres, cars and bins on fire. The shot is definitely symbolic, compelling and vivid, but inevitably conveys an interpretation of the facts which labels migrants as culprits and initiators, whereas the headlines – in both cases – try to portray them as victims: “Schiavi da morire” on *il manifesto* (a play on words that strictly means “Slaves to the extreme”, but also includes the verb “to die”), “Rage erupts in Rosarno, assaults and shootings against the migrants” on *Corriere della Sera*. Media studies literature agrees on the fact that images have a power which is stronger than any word. One can’t but wonder whether the choice of that specific shot (but there are other similar, albeit less immediately blatant, cases) derived simply from the “beauty” of the composition itself, or if some subterranean and subconscious prejudice might have played a role in that.

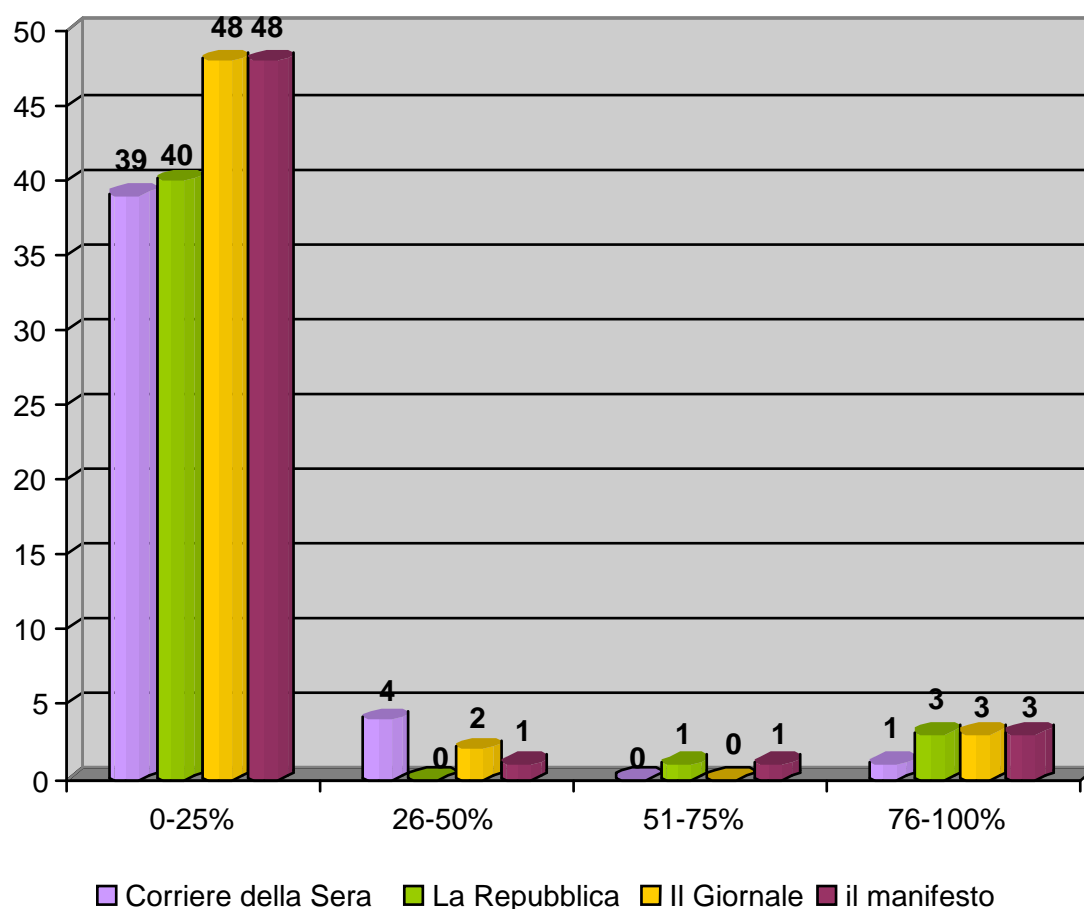
A second relevant finding is the almost overwhelming absence of migrants’ voices from the media coverage. The following graphic representation shows the total number of quotes appearing in the coverage, divided into different categories – politicians and officers, representatives of unions, NGOs and

religious groups, academics and researchers, migrants, local inhabitants, writers and journalists.

The distinction between international, national and local persons or organizations was not taken into account because it seemed ultimately irrelevant: the presence of international debate or political intervention in the coverage of Rosarno's facts is minimal, and substantially confined to the report of Egypt's reaction to the clashes. Laura Boldrini, spokesperson for UNHCR, is quoted only once, as were UN special rapporteurs on migrant rights (Bustamante and Muigai), by *Corriere della Sera*. The other major presence of international voices is related to the Vatican's intervention (with quotes mostly by Joseph Ratzinger and Tarcisio Bertone, Secretary of State for the Holy See).



Some facts are immediately apparent: the voice of migrants is highly under-represented, regardless of the political orientation of the newspapers. Oddly, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica* have an inverse representation of migrants and local residents; and furthermore, it is the exact opposite of what one might expect⁸³. Politicians and officers, be they local police officers or high-ranking cabinet members, rule; NGOs, religious groups and unions – which should have played a major role, since the core issue was the presence of exploitation and illegal work – are left aside and rarely given a voice. Almost totally absent is here the academic world, therefore implying that the coverage lacks a more in-depth observation on patterns and grounds of migration flow. *Il manifesto* is, unsurprisingly, the keenest on representing the variety of voices involved in the issue; on the other hand, it is quite



⁸³ This is probably just pure chance, given the limits of this sample, but it was worth mentioning.

unexpected to find how *La Repubblica* under-represents migrants in favor of local residents as well as politicians.

The dominant presence in terms of effective “voices” is, therefore, undoubtedly white and with an Italian (or, more rarely, “first-world”) passport. It is quite eloquent to observe the share of the article which is dedicated – by roughly counting the lines – to reporting the migrants’ voice. The ideological and political difference between the newspapers is here apparently irrelevant.

When quoted, migrants are also generally acknowledged to be of a “lessened status” than local citizens. They are identified by their first name only in the vast majority of cases (*La Repubblica*: 8; *il manifesto*: 12; *Corriere della Sera*: 18; *Il Giornale*: 7), whereas family name is much less quoted (respectively, 3, 6, 4, 4), as well as age (4, 3, 7, 4). In contrast, nationality is one of the few pieces of information usually provided – most of the time, migrants are quoted anonymously, and identified merely by their country of provenance: “a Ghanaian”, “a group of Senegalese men”, etc. Nationality is therefore massively reported: respectively, 6, 13, 15 and 8 times. Virtually no information is provided on the education and legal status of migrants.

It is not surprising, therefore, that even in the most left-leaning media some remnants of a racialisation – that is, an image that mirrors existing stereotypes, such as “the illegal worker”, “the prostitute”, etc. - surface when the voice of migrants is represented. This is true at different levels; and possibly with diverse goals. When *Il Giornale* interviews Nazir Lewis, the aim is to portray a “model of integration” as opposed to the allegations of exclusionary politics coming from Egypt, his country of origin; therefore, the choice falls upon Nazim, a businessman who opened two pizza restaurants in Milan, and who embodies the paradigm of the successful immigrant in love with his new “motherland” (his final words are “viva l’Italia”). In another

article, an anonymous Senegalese worker is quoted as saying “we’ll go to some cities in the North, selling sunglasses and fake Gucci bags”, thus implying the illegality of his job.

Corriere della Sera’s television critic Aldo Grasso somehow shows the same stereotypical pattern when, in a comment on the journalistic habit of addressing migrants informally, he lists “a non-EU citizen, a nanny, a colored lad who wants to sell us something”, thus summarizing – unintentionally, but even more meaningfully – the clichés regarding migrant presence in Italy. The same newspaper puts a strong accent on the internal divisions between “Moroccans” and “blacks”, with the former ones accusing the latter of “making a mess” of an otherwise almost peaceful situation. The recurrence of the term *fratelli*, “brothers”, is often used to define in a patronizing way the relationship between the migrant themselves. And the very first day of coverage, the only editorial published on the front page underlines quite heavily the “danger” related to “Islamic immigration”, although there is absolutely no correlation between Rosarno’s riots and religious issues.

The same considerations apply to *La Repubblica*. In this case, the stereotype involves the (il)legal status of migrants, which is sometimes taken for granted, as if it were a feature of their very existence: in Daniele Mastrogiacomo’s reportage, for instance (10/1), Ibrahim is the voice on which all the coverage is grounded, but the information provided about him is minimal; we are left with the feeling that he might be an illegal migrant, and precisely for that reason he doesn’t want to provide his full name, but no confirmation is given on that. Although the approach might be defined as more patronizing and sympathetic to the migrants’ cause, I argue that the ultimate effect it conveys is that of excluding them from the context of Italian socio-political life.



Il continente nero è ricchissimo, può fornire tutto ciò che serve al benessere degli africani. E sarà più produttivo quando i musulmani smetteranno di far lavorare solamente le donne.

to quello che serve al benessere delle popolazioni. L'importante è convincere un musulmano (l'Africa è in grandissima maggioranza musulmana) che non è disdicevole lavorare al proprio Paese, così come non lo trovano disdicevole quando ne hanno bisogno. Questo è infatti il primo problema: un maschio musulmano fa lavorare la moglie o le mogli, cosa che ovviamente è poco produttiva. Le donne, oberate dalla fatica e dai figli, non acquisiscono tecniche agricole che comportino macchine e strumenti faticosi, non possono provvedere ad abbondanti

con l'uso delle tecniche, tut-

Una condizione per il cui superamento i "gambizzati" si fero. Questi fatti - sono intollerabili perché contrari al noi - c'è una rabbia che non sappiamo spegnere. Noi veniamo qui da anni e anni. Eppure siamo come bestie perché le condizioni in cui ci si fanno stare sono insopportabili. Avremmo bisogno di un lavoro, di un posto dove poter dormire, di un posto dove poter mangiare. Ma non abbiamo nessuna casa. Adesso devono garantire la sicurezza per questo e razionare il cibo».

Il presidente della diaspora da Rosario - Qui - afferma - ci guadagnano il pane e il taccuino onestamente. Non vedo perché dovremmo fuggire, perché non andiamo sempre d'accordo». La signora di Sidiki di restare a Rosario e viverci pacificamente si scontra però con i rabbiosi degli abitanti di Rosario, che non vogliono che si spargano in patria. L'intentivo che stanno compiendo le autorità di pubblica sicurezza di trovare una soluzione al problema ap-



1100

TRASFERITI

Da Rosarno sono stati trasferiti 1100 lavoratori, ma la metà s'è dileguata: sono a Bari 324, a Crotone in 166



80

GLI ESPULSI

Secondo una prima stima, i clandestini che saranno portati nel Cie sono 80. Espulsi 10 per "allarme sociale"



10

IL PERMESSO AI FERITI

Ai dieci stranieri feriti dalla popolazione di Rosarno è stato concesso il permesso per motivi umanitari

In numeri

Il governo

Rosarno, scattano le espulsioni Maroni: poteva scapparci il morto

Accuse alla Regione. Loiero: il ministro per primo ha tollerato

ALBERTO CUSTODERO

ROMA — L'emergenza, a Rosarno, è finita. E la tregua nei confronti degli immigrati irregolari pure. «Sei strano, ministro», dicono i clandestini — ha assicurato il ministro dell'Interno, Roberto Maroni — saranno espulsi. La polemica politica, invece, continua con un botto e risposta fra il titolare del Viminale («Troppa tolleranza da parte degli enti locali, sulla bidonville di Rosarno la Regione ha chiuso gli occhi e s'è scordata delle proprie competenze sanitarie»), il presidente della giunta calabrese, Agazio Loiero. «Il primo ad aver tollerato la situazione di Rosarno — ha replicato il governatore — è stato proprio Maroni. Quello della Piana non è un problema sanitario. Ricorda al ministro che l'Asl competente è commissariata da una persona nominata dal suo ministero». Se i clandestini saranno perseguiti, l'azione del governo tende a reprimere anche chi li ha sfruttati. Di questo aspetto si sta occupando Paolo Pennesi, direttore dell'ispettorato del lavoro del ministero

zato il loro trasferimento in treni, direzione Nord.

La maggior parte degli immigrati risulta comunque in possesso di permesso stagionale, altri hanno documenti in regola, molti sono richiedenti asilo. Ma solo oggi ci sarà il censimento ufficiale di quanti effettivamente sono rimasti a Bari e Crotone dei mille e cento evacuati nei giorni scorsi

dalla Piana. Le stime ufficiose parlano di 324 ospiti a Bari (dei 450 trasferiti), e di 166 a Crotone (dei 420). La restante parte aveva abbandonato Rosarno a bordo di mezzi propri. La popolazione di evacuazione di massa degli immigrati di Rosarno non è piaciuta al presidente dei democratici, Rosy Bindi. «Sul trasferimento coatto dei lavoratori extracomunitari,

che somiglia molto ai respingimenti in mare — ha sottolineato — abbiamo sentito il richiamo del Papa, la voce autorevole del presidente della Repubblica, ma non una parola dei presidenti del Consiglio. Il nuovo anno era iniziato con il battesimo del partito dell'amore. Ma alla prova dei fatti, non se ne vede traccia».



REPUBBLICA.IT

Sul servizio sugli scontri di Rosarno, con foto e video



La polemica/1

Agente preso a morsi da immigrato deputato leghista: sono dei selvaggi

ROMA — «A parte tutta la nostra solidarietà e vicinanza all'agente di polizia cui è stato mozzato un lobo dell'orecchio, mi chiedo se questi "selvaggi", perché così sono, debbano essere considerati fratelli della dottrina sociale della Chiesa e da alcune Fondazioni vicine a certi ambienti istituzionali». Il senatore leghista Giovanni Tronchetti commenta così sull'aggressione subita da un agente di polizia in servizio a Modena morsiato, con l'amputazione di parte di un orecchio, da un nigeriano.



La polemica/2

Borghezio: Baudò anti-calabrese la replica: ho spronato all'umanità

ROMA — Mario Borghezio contro Pippo Baudò. L'eurodeputato della Lega parla di «filippica anti-calabrese in diretta su Rai1 di Baudò» e accusa: «Si condanna la rabbia dei cittadini di Rosarno, si tace quando esplode quella della "Ndrangheta"». Ma Baudò non ci sta: «La mia filippica era uno sprone verso i calabresi. Ho detto che devono scuotersi, ripensarsi, togliere questa macchia di Rosarno: qualcuno ha fatto dormire come maiali questi africani e poi gli ha sparato pure. Il mio appello è ai calabresi giusti, che sono tanti, alla loro umanità».

Status di rifugiati agli stranieri feriti da italiani. Bindi: perché Berlusconi non dice niente?

ro del Welfare che sta redigendo una relazione sull'illealtà dei rapporti di lavoro nella Piana.

Ma è ancora Maroni a criticare la politica regionale calabrese. «Purtroppo Rosarno è diventato un problema di ordine pubblico: noi siamo intervenuti in una situazione estremamente difficile dove poteva anche scapparci il morto». Nei centri di accoglienza di Bari e Crotone sono già iniziati i controlli delle posizioni dei raccoglitori di frutta evacuati dalla Piana. Due sono stati arrestati in esecuzione di precedenti misure cautelari, altri dieci, per problemi di «allarme sociale», sono stati trasferiti in un Cie. Un centinaio, senza documenti, sarà rimpatriato. Ai dieci stranieri feriti non durante la guerriglia urbana, ma perché colpiti da spari o in quanto vittime di aggressioni, è stato concesso il permesso di soggiorno per motivi umanitari.

«Ma una vera e propria azione pianificata per l'espulsione degli immigrati di Rosarno non c'è», precisa il prefetto Mario Marone, direttore del Dipartimento immigrazione del Viminale. Lo prova il fatto che circa la metà (con ogni probabilità i clandestini), ha lasciato nelle ultime ore i due centri di Bari e Crotone. E nessuno gli ha impedito di dileguarsi, anzi, le prefetture hanno organiz-

Il caso

GABRIELLA DE MATTEIS

BARI — All'è disorientato, confuso. Cammina per il centro di accoglienza per richiedenti asilo di Bari con il capo coperto dal cappuccio dell'elmo. E' solo, distante dai suoi compagni di viaggio che, ordinatamente, fanno la fila

Alcuni pensano di rientrare in Calabria. «Vogliamo almeno avere i soldi guadagnati»

davanti al prefabbricato riservato alla polizia. Si vede che ha paura. All. Paura e rabbia perché dopo la rapresaglia di Rosarno, ora, c'è un altro incubo: andare via, lasciare l'Italia. All. che ha vent'anni, l'ultimo dei quali passato a raccogliere arance nella piana di Reggio, parla a fatica, un italiano stentato: «Non posso tornare in Africa — dice. Non voglio essere rimandato via. Voglio rimanere qui. Qui, per All. adesso è un futuro incerto. Un interrogativo. E'

Nel centro accoglienza di Bari 324 nuovi ospiti da Rosarno. Molti hanno subito preso il treno per il Nord

Alì tra paura e il sogno dell'asilo “Prego di non dover tornare in Africa”



IN FUGA
I lavoratori di Rosarno in fuga dalle violenze

un presente precario, che vacilla. Lui non ha il permesso di soggiorno. Ma viene dal Ghana, una terra martoriata dalla povertà e dai conflitti. Forse, allora, può restare. Chiedere di diventare un rifugiato politico. Questo è l'iter. Chi ha il permesso di soggiorno può andare via, prendere un treno magari, andare in altre città italiane. Chi viene da zone a rischio, come qui, per All. adesso è un futuro incerto. Un interrogativo. E'

ELLEKAPPA



zione internazionale». Gli altri, invece, saranno espulsi. Saranno trasferiti nel centro di identificazione, e poi rimandati nei propri paesi di origine. Nel centro di Palesse, sui 324 immigrati arrivati da Rosarno, sono circa il 40 per cento. Un dato non ancora definitivo. «Quando sono arrivati qui erano terrorizzati. E così molti di loro non hanno mostrato subito il permesso di soggiorno che pure avevano. Lo stanno facendo ora.

Così molte posizioni sono da rivedere» dice un poliziotto. Si andrà avanti sino a notte fonda. Al Cara, «un centro tra i più dignitosi» dice l'assessore comunale all'immigrazione Fabio Loiero, gli immigrati cercano informazioni. Quelli che hanno avuto più fortuna, dall'interno di Rosarno, sono riusciti a portare via le proprie cose, stipate nei trolley, negli zaini o in grandi buste di plastica. Con i cellulari chiama-

no propri connazionali in altre parti d'Italia o le associazioni umanitarie. C'è chi dice di voler tornare in Calabria per prendere i soldi che non ha avuto. «A Rosarno, prima, è venuta la polizia, poi è arrivato un pullman. Non sapevamo dove ci stava portando, non pensavamo qui. E ora, che ne sarà di noi? Dove andremo?», chiede Abdul che ha 23 anni. E che, al Cara di Bari, aspetta di parlare con gli agenti. Anche chi, dalla struttura, è già andato via, è smarrito. Alla stazione ferroviaria un gruppo di immigrati attende il treno. «Vado a Bergamo, ho il permesso di soggiorno, ma tra un po' scadrà. Vado il perché ci sono i miei genitori. Cercherò lavoro, non ci riuscirò chissà. Allora dovrò tornare in Africa» dice Ibrahim, 19 anni. A Rosarno viveva in una casa abbandonata. Erano in cinque. Pagavano 80 euro a persona. Ora si ricomincia. Altrove, in un altro posto. Come Mohamed che da Verona, dove era impiegato nella raccolta dell'uva, era arrivato in Calabria. E che ora proverà ancora, in un viaggio di andata e ritorno.

Fig. 5: La Repubblica, January 11th, 2010

Il manifesto is, unsurprisingly, the most attentive among the four dailies in avoiding any stereotypical representation of the issue. For example, the interview with C.V. (9/1) dubs him as “the rebel” (which, by the way, in the newspaper’s view is definitely a positive characteristic), but it also immediately stresses the fact that he is a seasonal worker with a regular residence permit. This doesn’t imply, of course, that *il manifesto* has no flaws in its representation of migrant presence. It is true, for instance, that only on its pages one could find a fair amount of coverage devoted to the proposal for a migrants’ strike (which was consequently held on March 1st), even condemning the stuttering position of workers’ unions; but nonetheless, in the main article that Luca Fazio dedicates to the preparatory phase of the strike (14/1), no representative of the communities is quoted.

A last point has to be made on the space given to migrants’ voice in Italian newspapers. Even in the limited cases in which it is actually represented, the position it is given on the page puts it immediately in a subordinate role. Interviews with migrants – be they single men or women, or representatives of a broader group – rarely make it to the top of the page. Figures 4 and 5 (page 59-60) provide a striking example: in both cases – *Il Giornale* on one side, *La Repubblica* on the other – they are placed in the lower part of the “information grid”, the one which less attracts the gaze (and the attention) of the reader.

As well as the voice of the protagonists, there is another “big absentee” in Italian’s media coverage of Rosarno’s events: facts and figures. Technical information on the context is very rarely quoted in the articles, and when it is used, it usually happens in correlation to a piece of analysis. News reports almost never include data on citizenship and legal status of migrants, facts and figures on their presence in Italy, or (even worse) on their country of

provenance. Information on the legal frame about migration, in terms of both national and international laws, is virtually non-existent.

Citizenship details are provided altogether 15 times (1 by *Il Giornale*, 5 by *Corriere della Sera*, 8 by *La Repubblica*, 1 by *il manifesto*); legal status is specified 9 times, statistics on the presence in the country are quoted 30 times (16 by *Corriere della Sera*, 7 by both *La Repubblica* and *Il Giornale*, once by *il manifesto*). Information on the country of origin of migrants is dramatically absent: just one quote – paradoxically, on *Il Giornale*'s pages – in a whole week.

When numbers and data are quoted, the reader is sometimes left with no guarantee of their authenticity: it is a common habit, at least for the newspapers examined, to omit any reference to the sources of facts, figures and estimates. *Il Giornale*, for instance, relies heavily on rough estimates (“at least 1,500 people who came from Africa, the vast majority of them clandestine”, 9/1) or on statistics without reference to their origin (“the population [of African harvesters] this year has almost doubled: more than 2,500 compared to 1,400 in 2008”, 12/1). Police forces as well as politicians are often the only “official sources” which get quoted; even in publishing a whole analysis on Calabria's economy, with data encompassing a whole range of issues – from the average income to the number of degree holders –, not a single source is mentioned. Both *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*, even if clearly keener on showing how reliable their reports are, do now and then slip into this habit; for example, Eugenio Scalfari, *La Repubblica*'s founder and former director, states in his Sunday editorial that “in ten years we shifted from 1 million to 4 millions of immigrants”, without adding where this information comes from (10/1). It is somehow odd to observe that *il manifesto*, probably the most “migrant-friendly” among these newspapers, almost never bothers with giving its readers up-to-date facts and figures; my guess is that knowing how much they share its support for

migrants and their struggle, any information related to their background or to the harsh reality they face once in Italy is deemed a well established fact. In short, journalists at *il manifesto* don't feel they have to convince the readers of their coverage's legitimacy, whereas other newspapers often feel compelled to recur to numbers and statistics in order to support their claims.

As a conclusion, I would argue that in the coverage of Rosarno's events migrants are not awarded a status which might be deemed fair and equal to the one we would consider acceptable and respectful in dealing with national citizens' stories; they are mostly denied a full identity, their voices are silenced or remain unheard, their stories lack the basic background information that only might help readers in grasping the underlying reasons of their presence in Italy and, ultimately, of their violent rebellion. This is an anomalous suspension of journalism's basic rules of fairness, completeness, unbiasedness and accuracy, which would probably not be tolerated – or indeed, entirely disregarded - if it affected other parts of Italian society.

The most relevant findings of this survey are related to the language used by journalists and the semantic areas predominant in the coverage, specifically in relation to the description of migrants' role in Italian society or in the context of Rosarno. As stated in the second chapter of this paper, my choice was to distinguish between 5 areas, covering all the emotional spectrum – from enrichment and usefulness, to emergency, fear, and crime.

It is key to recall here what has already been mentioned about the legal status of migrants: although no official data were handed to the press at that time, Government sources stated quite clearly and unmistakably that the percentage of migrants without work permits involved in Rosarno's clashes was lower than the share of those working legally. The absolute predominance of the term *clandestino* (“clandestine”) in all but *il manifesto*'s coverages speaks for itself.

It is quite clear – and perhaps explicable – that the most neglected semantic areas are the positive ones. *La Repubblica* has, for instance, only 22 words which might be correlated to the usefulness or at least the normality of migrant presence in the country, ranging from “bravery” and “essentiality” to “integration” and “dreams”. At the same time, its word cloud⁸⁴ denotes a massive recurrence of “apocalyptic” terms - such as “ghetto”, “bidonville”, “damned”, “hell”, “guerrilla”, “hunt” - which contribute to convey a picture of the situation as an emergency, at the same time putting migrants in the position of voiceless and powerless victims. In contrast it is interesting to note how some commentators attentively avoid terms like “riot” or “guerrilla” or *inferno*, “hell”: Carlo Petrini and Tito Boeri (14/1), for instance, both refer to Rosarno’s clashes with words such as “events” or “facts”. This is certainly a good sign and it shows that it is possible to report on this kind of phenomenon without falling prey to dramatization and sensationalization.

At the same time, it is clear that the newspaper is more generally opting for an emotional coverage, which sometimes overflows (and hides) information: Attilio Bolzoni (10/1) refers to the stories about the riot that local citizens tell each other on the barricades – “the mother dragged out of her car with her children, the pregnant woman who lost her baby, the girl hit with a gas tank, the threatened kid” – and defines them as “events which are true and false, all mixed”, but he actually doesn’t bother to make a distinction between them. The stylistic aspect, as well as the effort to capture readers’ attention, is often predominant, to the detriment of clarity and truth.

On the contrary, the other left-wing newspaper I examined - *il manifesto* - sticks to its principle of being extremely unambiguous in reporting the news, as well as of avoiding any derogatory or exclusionary term. The reporter even underlines (12/1) the contradictions in local citizens’ declarations, when they claim not to be racist: “...a young man from Burkina Faso explains. His name

⁸⁴ The word clouds were realized with the help of the web generator www.wordle.net

is Ousani Banse, but who knows why, everybody here insists in calling him Mustafa”; or “a man gets angry at the allegations [of racism], but he would be more convincing if only he managed not to call ‘niggers’ the migrants”. *Il manifesto* goes as far as to make explicit the absurdity of defining migrants as outlaws or outcasts, in opposition to Italians: “Today enslaved migrants work on the very same land where – just a few decades ago – local dwellers fought mass union fights in order to be recognized basic rights. There is no memory of those events anymore, just as of a recent migratory past [from Italy]” (9/1).

On a more general level, exclusionary and derogatory terms, as well as stereotypical or racist definitions, are present – to various extents – in all the newspapers except *il manifesto*. *La Repubblica*, for instance, describes Rosarno’s migrants as “slaves” living in “enclaves” (Jenner Meletti, 11/1); in a reportage on the “other” migrants living in town, these are defined as “the good ones”, “welcomed” by local citizens – thus drawing a double juxtaposition, migrant community versus locals, and good migrants versus bad ones (11/1).

The use of the word *clandestino*, “clandestine”, is also in itself very meaningful. *Il Giornale* alone uses it 64 times; *Corriere della Sera* stops at 31, *La Repubblica* at 28, *il manifesto* at 15 (mostly in quotes from politicians and local inhabitants). And if – as the researchers of San Francisco’s State University stated back in 1994 – in English using the term *alien* can conjure up images of invaders from outer space⁸⁵, in Italian media this constant recurrence to the term *clandestino* can’t but convey a narrative of obscure, shadowy and gloomy presences, hiding in the belly of ships and fleeing from daylight, lurking in the darkness and trying to sneak in our houses and seek shelter in our cellars or dusty attics, just like in XIX century’s feuilletons; clandestine guests aboard commercial vessels, tramps jumping on and off trains travelling across continents.

⁸⁵ *News Watch: A Critical Look at Coverage of People of Color*, quot., p.44

Il caso Calabria La città



I vescovi Queste violenze e questi fatti dolorosi sembrano trovare radice nella situazione inumana esistente **Monsignor Agostino Marchetto**

Reportage

Ancora nessuna certezza sul fatto che avrebbe dato origine agli scontri. L'ipotesi di infiltrazioni mafiose e di una rivolta teleguidata dai boss

La gente scende in piazza e urla «Siamo stati traditi dallo Stato»

La protesta: a noi bastonate, loro liberi di distruggere tutto. L'ombra della 'ndrangheta

DAL NOSTRO INVIATO

ROSARNO (Reggio Calabria) — All'ora di pranzo davanti al Municipio arrivano le mamme. Alcune tengono i bambini per mano, si piazzano sotto le finestre e cominciano a gridare: «Vergogna! Bastardi!». Perché, che è successo? «Hanno portato da mangiare ai neri». Cioè hanno fornito un pasto agli extracomunitari nella ex fabbrica dove sono rinchiusi. Forse è vero, forse no, come tutto quello che in queste ore corre di bocca in bocca fra i cittadini di Rosarno.

Ma basta per un nuovo scoppio d'ira popolare.

«Non abbiamo pagato 50 euro per la mensa della scuola, bastardi», e giù altre urla. Non più contro i «neri», ma contro lo Stato che gli dà da mangiare. Se questo è razzismo, il razzismo è qui. Se è solo esasperazione, e qui ed è tanta. Se c'è una fetta di mafia — che da queste parti si chiama 'ndrangheta — a fomentare la protesta, forse è arrivata fin qui, a lanciare anatemi contro il commissario straordinario arrivato a Rosarno poco più di un anno fa, dopo lo scioglimento del consiglio comunale per sospette infiltrazioni mafiose. Di certo, quello che sta accadendo dopo la scintilla che ha scatenato la risposta violenta dei clandestini e adesso la reazione ugualmente violenta della popolazione locale, è la degenerazione di una situazione già degenerata, avviata non si sa bene come e da chi, ma che sembra andare oltre i 1.500 o 2.000 «neri» che se ne devono andare, come ripetete ogni rosarnese sceso in strada o affacciato da finestre e balconi, dal più quieto al più esagitato.

A ventiquattrore di distanza dai primi disordini, nessuno è ancora in grado di dire con esattezza come e perché è scoccata la scintilla. Ci sono due o forse più africani che raccontano di essere stati feriti da proiettili arrivati da un'auto in corsa.

Piombari sparati da un'auto ad aria compressa, pare. Quell'episodio ha provocato la protesta «anti-razzista» dei clandestini che lavorano come stagionali nella raccolta degli agrumi, sfociata in distruzioni senza senso e senza limiti. Da lì la reazione dei «bianchi» contro i «neri», con le nuove violenze di chi si lancia nella caccia al «marocchino» da riprendere a casa, trova l'ostacolo delle forze dell'ordine e le aggredisce: «A noi ci prendete a bastonate e a quelli li lasciate liberi di distruggere macchine e case! Fate schifo». Non più i «neri», ma poliziotti e carabinieri, cioè i rappresentanti dello Stato che tentano di dialogare, con sempre maggiori difficoltà. «Vi avverto, state commettendo reati gravi», cerca di spiegare a metà mattinata un funzionario di polizia ai ragazzi che rovesciano i cassonetti in mezzo alla strada per bloccare il passaggio delle auto. Quelli rispondono a urla, andandogli sotto col viso arrossato e le vene del collo gonfie: «Arrestateci, e poi ci pagate l'avvocato col gratuito patrocinio!». Il funzionario scuote la testa. Anche quelli apparentemente più ragionevoli gli si scagliano contro: «Invece di difenderci da noi, dovreste difenderci da quei bastardi». Il poliziotto prova a dire che lui cerca solo di far rispettare la legge, ed eccome un altro che lo accusa: «La legge dice che questi sono clandestini e se ne devono andare, se non li cacciate via fatevi da parte, che ci pensiamo noi!».

Naturalmente i rosarnesi protagonisti di questi dialoghi calabresi di inizio 2010 raccontano la scintilla in tutto altro



Vita da immigrato

In alto un immigrato usa un'auto come casa. Al centro la cucina tra i cartoni e, sotto, le tende nell'ex fabbrica (Sanigalliesi)

modo. Nessuna spedizione punitiva, nessuna bravata xenofoba: «Uno di questi neri ha fatto i suoi bisogni davanti a una casa, il proprietario s'è scoccato e gli ha sparato coi pallini». Molti giustificano gli spari, e anche chi non se la sente dice che bisogna comprendere: «Qualche pazzo c'è, ma la situazione ormai è insopportabile».

Nel giorno della rivolta è difficile capire come si sia potuti arrivare a questo punto dopo vent'anni e più di convivenza, magari non allegra ma comunque accettabile, tra Rosarno e questo popolo di sfruttati stagionali, migrati dai loro Paesi e migranti qui, di regione in regione, a seconda delle raccolte pagate una manciata di euro al giorno. Perché gli africani fanno un lavoro che i locali rifiutano (anche se oggi s'incontrano pure ragazzi che assicurano il contrario, ma da abbigliamento e gel tra i capelli non sembrano troppo sinceri), e ad utilizzare le loro braccia sono i proprietari terrieri che ne

La vicenda

Le cause
Sono ancora poco chiari i retroscena della rivolta, a Rosarno. Le ipotesi sul motivo scatenante sono diverse

hanno bisogno. E la 'ndrangheta che qui gestisce i suoi affari non dovrebbe avere interesse a disordini che attirano polizia e controlli. Semmai il contrario.

«Ma che mafia e mafia, noi siamo gente onesta e siamo stanchi», ribattono in strada, e raccontano di gente «nera» ubriaca che dà chissà quale angolo d'Africa (ma sono sempre tutti «marocchini») a spacciare droga e gestire produzione. Ai piani alti del palazzo comunale, dirigenti in giacca e cravatta riflettono sul possibile diversivo creato dalla 'ndrangheta rispetto alla bomba esplosa meno di una settimana fa a Reggio Calabria, e alla parata di ministri e divise con cui lo Stato ha risposto a tamburo battente: «È solo una coincidenza», si chiede il commissario prefettizio Domenico Bagnato, lasciando la domanda in sospeso.

Alla mafia locale che soffia sulla rivolta non sembrano dare credito i responsabili locali di polizia e carabinieri, investigatori di lungo corso abituati a ragionare su fatti concreti piuttosto che sulle teorie.

E qui, adesso, non c'è alcuna certezza nemmeno sul fatto scatenante: «Chi ce lo racconta com'è andata davvero, quelli che da ieri dicono che una donna ha abortito per lo spavento provocato dalle violenze degli extracomunitari, quando è del tutto falso». Puntano più sul disagio di una terra povera che sfrutta ed è costretta a convivere coi poveri arrivati da altri mondi, i tutori dell'ordine. E su atteggiamenti di retorione dei penultimi sugli ultimi che altrove si chiamerebbe bullismo e che qui assume contorni decisamente antistatali.

Bullismo mafioso, si potrebbe dire, come quello del ragazzo che urla al funzionario di pubblica sicurezza di togliersi la cravatta se vuole parlare con lui, e quello accostante e si slaccia pure il collo della camicia, prima di convincerlo a togliersi di mezzo per far passare la macchina.

Però che qualche capo-'ndrangheta possa tentare di tele-guidare la rivolta per far vedere che qui non comanda lo Stato ma lui e la sua cosca, è un rischio ammesso anche da qualcuno che partecipa alla protesta: «Ma non ci importa, oggi in piazza c'è Rosarno, che si sente tradita dallo Stato».

Il Comune è stato sciolto a ottobre del 2008, per sospette infiltrazioni dopo l'arresto di un sindaco che poi è stato assolto dalle accuse. «Allora dove sta 'sta mafia?», grida uno, mentre si alza uno striscione che chiede il rilascio del giovane arrestato l'anno scorso per altri spari contro altri extracomunitari: «È innocente, liberatelo». Secondo le informazioni della polizia quel giovane è un «marocchino» della cosca Pesce, che insieme a quella dei Bellocchio fa rispettare le leggi della 'ndrangheta a Rosarno.

Giovanni Bianconi

REPORTAGE

BATTISTI
IL GENIO MUSICALE
MOGOL
IL POETA DELL'ANIMA

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Fig. 10: Corriere della Sera, January 9th, 2010

Focus Immigrati e lavoro

Lo studio L'Istituto nazionale di economia agraria indica una diminuzione degli stagionali. Sud in ritardo

Diversificazione Accanto alla tradizionale raccolta, negli ultimi anni crescono gli impiegati nelle imprese zootecniche e negli agriturismo

Dove gli stranieri sono contadini integrati

È un fenomeno in costante crescita quello dell'impiego degli extracomunitari in agricoltura. Nel periodo 1989-2007 l'incremento a livello nazionale è di oltre 7 volte, con un passaggio dalle 23 mila alle 172 mila unità circa. Ma esiste un'evoluzione anche nella qualità dei rapporti di lavoro? Oppure il lavoro «nero» e malpagato continua a prevalere, alimentando conflitti sociali come quello esploso a Rosarno?

Secondo il recente «Rapporto sugli immigrati nell'agricoltura italiana», pubblicato dall'Inea (Istituto nazionale di economia agraria), soprattutto dopo il 2000 si rileva un importante spostamento dalle tradizionali attività di raccolta (sempre prevalenti con quasi il 46% nel 2007) a quelle zootecniche e soprattutto a operazioni culturali caratterizzate da una maggiore integrazione nell'intero ciclo produttivo. Dunque a una minor stagionalità.

Fermo restando però «il persistere di sacche importanti di non regolarità nelle relazioni tra lavoratori e imprenditori, secondo l'Inea, nel periodo 1990-2006 c'è stato «un significativo miglioramento sia in termini di regolarizzazione dei rapporti lavorativi che di riconoscimento di retribuzioni conformi alle tariffe sennò», assai più contenuto nel Mezzogiorno.

Tra le novità c'è anche l'utilizzo di lavoratori extracomunitari in attività agrituristiche, nonché nella trasformazione e commercializzazione di prodotti agricoli. Per le prime, al 2007 si stimano circa 3 mila unità, prioritariamente nel Nord e nel Mezzogiorno. Quanto alle seconde, hanno coinvolto più di 8.200 unità, per oltre la metà concentrate nel Nord, specie nella lavorazione delle carni. Nel resto d'Italia si lavora anche in cantine, oleifici e prima lavorazione dell'ortofrutta, e in operazioni di semplice facchinaggio e movimentazione delle merci.

Gli immigrati agricoli nel Nord e nel Centro dal 1989 al 2007 sono più che decuplicati, con punte in Regioni quali la Lombardia, la Toscana, l'Emilia-Romagna, il Lazio, il Veneto e il Trentino Alto-Adige, dove si riscontrano positivi casi di integrazione. «Si pensi alla raccolta delle mele in Trentino — osserva Romano Magrini, responsabile lavoro Coldiretti —. O a quella delle barbatelle a Rosarno (Pd), dove gli immigrati hanno cominciato a acquistare immobili. Negli allevamenti bufalini di Latina i lavoratori del Punjab sono una ri-

Addetti all'agricoltura 172 mila extracomunitari
Veneto, Piemonte, Trentino: realtà positive in aumento

Il numero di immigrati per comparto

Comparti	Fasi/operazioni	2000	2006	2007
Zootecnia	Tenuta stalle e pastorizia	1.300	1.040	1.100
Orticoltura	Raccolta	1.200	2.287	2.880
Viticultura	Raccolta	300	-	-
Agrumicoltura	Raccolta	3.000	1.020	8.000
Olivicoltura	Raccolta	3.500	675	3.500
Frutticoltura	Raccolta	1.000	825	825
Florovivaismo	Lavori vari	300	210	250
Agriturismo	Pulizia, cucina, servizio	-	300	330

I contratti

Comparti	Tipo di contratto	Retribuzione giornaliera			
		Informale	Regolare	Sindacale	Non sindacale
Zootecnia	%	2	34	2	16,5
Florovivaismo	%	4	34	4	18
Agriturismo	%	4	34	4	18
PRODUTTORI					
Pomodoro	100	-	39,2	-	25
Finocechi	100	-	39,2	-	25
Agumi	100	-	39,2	-	25
Olio	100	-	39,2	-	20
Frutta	98	2	34	2	18

Fonte: Inea

sorsa fondamentale: accludono il bestiame e qualcuno comincia a lavorare anche nei caseifici.

In Piemonte, dove gli immigrati sono decuplicati in un decennio (1 ogni 10 occupati), una quota notevole è assorbita nelle vendemmie ma anche dalle imprese zootecniche. In questo settore cechi, rumeni, pachistani e indiani, dei quali è apprezzata la bravura nel governo della stalla, nella mangimatura, nella vigilanza e cura del bestiame, sono ricercati dagli allevatori del canavese e del torinese e contesti da quelli della pianura Padana. Per questo, sostiene Inea, i rapporti di lavoro sono per lo più regolari, mentre si moltiplicano le iniziative per fare incontrare domanda e offerta. Ad esempio, per reperire manodopera in campagne di breve e brevissimo periodo, è stato sottoscritto un protocollo d'intesa tra le parti sociali della provincia di Cuneo e gli enti preposti, affinché il passaggio di manodopera da un'azienda ad un'altra (con successivo ritorno a quella primitiva) avvenga senza interrompere il rapporto di lavoro originario.

Diverso è il «modello toscano» applicato a Siena, Arezzo, Firenze e Grosseto, dove maggiore è la concentrazione di immigrati: nei campi e ne-

gli agriturismi. Data la carenza di manodopera locale, il lavoro extracomunitario è sempre più indispensabile e tende a specializzarsi in alcune particolari operazioni che richiedono anche un intervento formativo da parte dei datori e spesso si tramuta in svolgimento di attività in proprio, offerta di servizi, crescita di richieste di contrattazione specifica alle rappresentanze sindacali. Nascono servizi specifici come agenzie sociali per la casa, che offrono servizi di orientamento e consulenza agli immigrati, a prezzi contenuti.

L'Emilia-Romagna si distingue per aver affrontato con maggiore attenzione i temi dell'inserimento degli extracomunitari con iniziative finalizzate alla formazione professionale del lavoro degli immigrati. Tra i diversi progetti, quello di formazione di lavoratori stagionali del Marocco.

Formazione

L'Emilia Romagna offre ai marocchini corsi per diventare esperti in colture biologiche

co, selezionati nelle cooperative della Lega, cui è stato offerto un corso di formazione per divenire «tecnici di campagna», cioè esperti in agricoltura biologica e integrata. Il progetto contempla anche un aiuto economico per sostenere il reinserimento attivo nel Paese di origine.

Nel Sud, dal 1989 al 2007, il valore complessivo degli immigrati si è di poco triplicato, con partecipazione maggiore di Regioni agricole come la Campania, la Puglia e la Calabria. Quest'ultima è passata da valori inferiori al migliaio di unità del 1989 alle 8-9 mila, a fronte di un incremento decisamente più significativo della Puglia oltre 20 mila unità, soprattutto nel foggiano. In questa Regione il costo della manodopera extracomunitaria è tendenzialmente più basso di quella locale e i contratti sono irregolari per il 70%. In uno scenario così difficile, negli ultimi anni, l'unico elemento in controtendenza è dato dal forte utilizzo di lavoratori extracomunitari anche in attività dove è richiesta una certa professionalità, conseguita a volte anche attraverso formazione diretta a cura dei datori di lavoro.

Antonella Baccaro

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Fig.11: Corriere della Sera, January 11th, 2010

Fugitives, with police squads constantly chasing them; modern and multi-ethnic gypsies, eternally on the move, without a house, clean clothes, proper meals, a job, an education. *Clandestino* is, in Italian language, not the same as *illegale*, “illegal”: it brings with it the feeling of a social stigma, of something unmentionable, an existential condition to be truly ashamed of. It is also the least accurate among the legal terms used to define the migrants’ state; whereas the definitions of “asylum seeker” and “illegal worker” imply a precise legal setting, “clandestine” should – strictly speaking – be used only in the specific situation of a person entering illegally and secretly the Italian borders, who – incidentally - might even qualify as a legitimate refugee and apply for asylum.

The free and easy use Italian newspapers make of this term clashes with the prescriptions defined by the *Carta di Roma* (“Charter of Rome”)⁸⁶, a code of conduct drafted and signed in 2008 by ODG (Order of Journalists) and FNSI (National Press Federation). Among other things, it recommends “to adopt juridically appropriate terms”, at the same time “avoiding the use of improper ones”; to “avoid the proliferation of inaccurate, sketchy or warped news”; to “protect asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and smuggling, and migrants that choose to talk with journalists, adopting [due] watchfulness on their identity and image so that their identification is impossible”; to “consult, when it is possible, experts and specialized organizations, in order to give to the public proper information together with a clear and complete background, which also takes into account the phenomenon’s causes”. At the end of the charter, a glossary provides an accurate list of the legal definitions regarding migrants, asylum seekers, etcetera. The findings I illustrate in this paper show without any doubt that Italian journalists and editors don’t respect the set of

⁸⁶ <http://www.odg.it/content/carta-di-roma>

rules they worked out themselves and agreed upon. A last, more visual example of this carelessness and total disregard is provided by the pictures published by *Corriere della Sera* on January 9th and 11th (see Figures 10 and 11, pp. 68-69). To illustrate the article on how local citizens accuse the Government of having “betrayed” them, graphic editors picked up a shot where a black man, perfectly recognizable and with a fully visible face, confronts a white woman, waving his finger at her and apparently shouting. The woman is young and tiny, her attitude is very composed; the man is physically imposing, his expression and attitude are threatening. On the contrary, when the analysis is on the “positive side” of migration – “Where foreigners are integrated peasants” – the picture doesn’t show migrants’ faces and features; we can only see them as anonymous figures, surrounded and almost swallowed by vineyards. The caption tells us they are “Pakistani harvesters”, but their identity is lost among numbers and graphics. Once again, a single but powerful editorial choice destroys the “fair and neutral” portrayal which should be guaranteed to migrants and local citizens alike.

A last point needs to be made on the general judgement on migrants that these different coverages shape in readers’ minds. There is, among Italian newspaper, an unquestionable proclivity to use journalistic tools – choice of words, layout, pictures - in order to emphasize the editorial line; in the case of migration, and more specifically in the coverage of Rosarno, this has become more and more politically polarized. Migrants are seen as primarily victims only by *il manifesto* (in 42 articles), which also depicts them quite often under a positive light (11 times); even *La Repubblica*, which - as already mentioned - shares some of *il manifesto*’s concerns on providing a balanced coverage of the issue, almost equally splits its coverage into “fully victim” portrayals (19) and “both victim and perpetrator” ones (16). Migrants are seen in a positive light only in a handful of cases.

b. German and British Coverage: a View from Abroad

The coverage of Rosarno by German and British media is, for obvious reasons, very limited – respectively, 6 and 5 articles along the examined week - but nonetheless significant when it comes to apply the analytical grid.

First of all, the event is completely ignored by tabloids: no pieces are devoted to it by *Bild*, *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun*. On the contrary, the story was picked up more than once by the left-wing broadsheets in both countries, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Guardian*; the British daily went even further than a simple news coverage, adding an analytical article to it. The *Times*, on the other hand, published a caption with a long byline – something closer to a short article than to a simple picture – in addition to a single news report. In Germany, the keenest in reporting and explaining Rosarno's clashes was – unsurprisingly – the *taz*, which has always been very attentive in covering and analyzing the migration phenomenon, both at local and international levels.

Headlines usually bear a strong ideological stance; they express, in fact, the newspaper's editorial position, its "judgement" not only related to the incidents, but even more to Italian government's reaction to it. The *Guardian* clearly chooses to back the migrants' cause from the very beginning: the headline for its first news report, published on 9/1, states "Racial violence continues in Italy". It is somehow surprising, if we consider that it follows the very first day of the clashes; the choice of the verb "to continue" implies, therefore, that racial violence is endemic in the country. The other headlines – "Foreign workers forced to flee Italian town – Crop-pickers beaten and shot by locals after riot; last immigrants removed for own protection" (11/1), as well as "Grapes of wrath: desperation of itinerant workers" (9/1) – both emphasize the fact that migrants are in Italy to work, not to take advantage of

the situation; the emergency aspect of the issue is stressed, but the newspaper stands clearly and fully on the side of the migrants.

A similar editorial stance is picked up by *The Times* – which, in contrast with *The Guardian*, also uses the word “migrant” in its headlines. Violence is quoted, but the attention is more focused on positive concepts, such as the right to a better life: “Bright lights of hope are beacon for migrants” (12/1) refers to the fact that European cities represent “a pinnacle of development and affluence” for migrants, a “powerful lure for those in the poorer countries”; “Pope urges end to clashes as Africans are evacuated” (11/1) implies a definition of the migrants as victims.

German newspapers as a whole display a more sensationalistic attitude, which might also be related to recent experiences with mafia shootings in the country; the accent falls upon the most gruesome and bloody aspects of the event, and in 5 articles out of 6, the headlines emphasize this side of the event. There are references to the “escalation in racist violence” (“Rassistische Gewalt eskaliert”, *taz*, 9/1), the “bloody riot” (“Blutige Krawalle in Italien”, *Welt am Sonntag*, 10/1), the “quasi-pogrom” in a “mafia-fortress” (“Über das Beinahe-Pogrom in der Mafia-Hochburg Rosarno”, *taz*, 11/1), as well as a headline which is strongly victimizing the migrants: “Delivered and exploited” (“Ausgeliefert und ausgebeutet”, *SZ*, 11/1). The only headline that plainly summarizes the news appeared on January 9th, on *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: “Migrants protest by violence in Italy”.

The voice of migrants is totally absent from German and British articles; the quotes come, again, from politicians, local officers, national unions and – both on *The Times* and *Die Welt*, right-wing broadsheets – the writer Roberto Saviano, who in Italy, oddly enough, is generally considered as linked to centre-left leaning groups. It is therefore even more relevant to underline how the foreign press is comparatively more accurate than the Italian one in

reporting facts and figures on the migrants' presence in Italy, which appear 3 times on both side. German newspapers also pay much more attention to the legal status of migrants (quoted 2 times by *taz*, once by *SZ*), as well as their citizenship (twice on *taz*, whereas it only appears once in British press).

Sources are not customarily quoted, but there is at least a very good example of a "best journalistic practice" which is unequalled on Italian newspapers: on the *Guardian* of January 9th, John Hooper refers broadly to the NGO Caritas' report on the share of migrant population in Italian demographics, also providing a comparison with the EU average and an estimate of illegal presence in the country.

When it comes to the semantic groups which are dominant in the two coverages, the results (see figures 11 and 12, p.75) add to the considerations already made on the German press which is leaning more towards the "emergency" side, whereas the British one is more split between the concept of "problem and danger" and the extreme area of "emergency and fear". It is key to underline how the term "clandestine" appears only once in British newspapers, and is banned from German ones; it is the *Guardian* which uses it, together with "crime", but only when quoting Italy's Interior minister Roberto Maroni (9/1). This is consistent with British press codes of conduct, that *de facto* banish the use of the word "clandestine" as exclusionary and unfair. On the other hand, words related to the semantic areas of enrichment/usefulness or normality are scarce: 5 in the German coverage, 6 in the British one. Positive terms – "courageous", "standing up" – are, for instance, quoted by *The Times* (12/1) only because used by the writer Roberto Saviano. Exclusionary terms are rarely used on both sides; *The Guardian* is very careful in defining migrants with a wide range of terms that label them as workers, thus giving them a proactive and positive social status.

From a broader and more general point of view, we might state that in Germany's and United Kingdom's press Rosarno became a paradigm of preconceived ideological positions, not necessarily on migration only: German newspapers stressed on the role Italian criminality had played in the riots; the British press – in a country where, as stated, “bogus asylum seekers” are perceived as the main issue – emphasizes more the problems related to the “illegal labour market”, as well as the human rights violations correlated to the incidents.

In both cases, and even in such a restricted number of articles, the attempt to get an in-depth analysis and providing the readers with a complete information surfaces much more clearly than in the Italian newspapers taken as a whole. From my point of view, this is proof of the fact that even when dealing with emergencies, migration phenomenon can be depicted in a respectful, dignified and unbiased way.

4. TIMES OF WAR, TIMES OF PEACE.

a. A Week in the Life of Integrated Migrants

“When a non–White group stimulates fear and apprehension in the general population, the response is inevitably a social confrontation. News media, having already brought the threat to society’s attention and exacerbated racial polarization, then proceed to cover the response”, which is “often violent in nature”, or “culminates in legislative action, such as segregation laws, peace treaties, immigration laws, or the creation of agencies...”⁸⁷.

As the economist Tito Boeri wrote on February 4th, 2010, in a comment published by *La Repubblica*:

“Media in Italy cover migration more and more insistently, referring to news stories that involve immigrants, but they never (or almost never) report statistics on immigrants and locals as a whole. The percentage of news and articles including the word ‘immigration’ has been growing in the last five years in Italy by 15%, more than in all other EU countries, where media carry on giving more or less the same relevance to the issue (...). The news percentage about criminal acts as a share of the whole of news about immigrants is here three times more than in other EU countries”⁸⁸.

As Boeri further states, “information should focus on typical cases, on average data, instead of reporting only isolated and not representative incidents. Here [in Italy] exactly the opposite happens”⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ C.C. Wilson II and F. Gutiérrez, *quoted*, p. 155

⁸⁸ T. Boeri, *Immigrati e criminalità. Cosa dicono i numeri* (“Immigrants and criminality. What numbers say”), *La Repubblica*, 04.02.2010. The translation is mine.

⁸⁹ T. Boeri, *ibid.*

It might be considered a step forward if the Italian media would focus on some so-called “success stories”, although some scholars see them as a mere device to divert attention from integration issues and ultimately to accomplish the stereotyping of migrants required by the dominating culture in order to neutralize apprehensions and fears; as Wilson and Gutiérrez put it,

“these stories accomplish the two objectives of stereotypical selective reporting: (a) The general audience is reassured that non-Whites are still “in their place” (i.e., the reservation, ghetto, etc.) and (b) those who escape their designated place are not a threat to society because they manifest the same values and ambitions as the dominant culture and overcome the deficits of their home communities”⁹⁰.

This chapter aims to briefly analyze the coverage on migration that the mainstream press provides outside emergencies, with a few examples that will show how in all the examined countries, what dominates the public debate – even in times of peace, that is, when emergency situations such as Rosarno are not the focus of the coverage – is a vision of migration as a destabilizing, potentially dangerous and ultimately “alien” element in European societies.

A good example, in this sense, is provided by the “word clouds” which result from the content analysis of the two Italian newspapers which are the most polarized in terms of political and ideological stance: *il manifesto* and *Il Giornale*. In both cases, the predominant semantic area is not the one related to “normality” or “enrichment”, but rather a mixture of problematization and danger. It has to be underlined that in the week I examined, the debate was triggered by the remarks of Letizia Moratti, mayor of Milan, who stated how “All the clandestines who don’t have a regular job usually commit criminal acts” (May 9th, 2010); nonetheless, the presence of “counter-voices” is non-existent.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157

It is relevant, in this case, to underscore a basic rule of narrative shaping: no matter how many words and concepts are chosen by the journalist or quoted when used by sources (in this case, centre-right politicians), their impact on the readers holds steady, and the predominance of negative notions and images is destined to impact in a relevant way in people's minds. And even more so, we might add, when no counter-narrative is developed in order to give a balanced representation of migrant reality.

The number of articles related to migration issues is, in all Italian newspapers examined, dramatically low: 22 for *La Repubblica*, only 6 for *il manifesto*, 23 for *Il Giornale*, 18 for *Corriere della Sera*. The vast majority of them is related to the debate mentioned above, with an emphasis on the ideological clash between Catholic Church representatives (who criticize Milan's mayor) and right-wing politicians. Again and again, migrant voices are nowhere to be heard: 22 articles out of 23 on *Il Giornale* devote less than 25% of their space to it, and in contrast to Rosarno's week, race and ethnicity are overwhelmingly emphasized. Citizenship of migrants is quoted in 15 cases, versus 6 references on data about their presence in Italy and only 4 on their legal status. A typical example is an article on a top model allegedly pregnant with the son of Samuel Eto'o, a football star playing for Internazionale and of Cameroonian origins: "Eto'o told me: get an abortion or I'll cut your head", goes the headline (13/5), whereas the sub-headline remarks "I'll kill you, you know very well what we do in Cameroon". Needless to say, the coverage is based on the girl's alleged deposition, but *Il Giornale* is well known for breaking unverified news. There is also a racialisation of migrants' voice – the political refugee "saved" by sport, the drug addict/pusher, the violent African man who doesn't change his behavior even when he is a successful and rich football player.

Cronache

Stranieri e sicurezza Il ministro Brambilla e la cittadinanza: solo 6 immigrati su 100 dicono di conoscere bene la nostra cultura

Clandestini, Bagnasco critica la Moratti

Il cardinale: spero non sia normale che tutti delinquano. Il sindaco di Milano: non mi pento

MILANO — Pentita? «No». Rinnegherrebbe qualcosa? «No». Semmai, dovesse proprio tornare indietro, farebbe una precisazione. Perché, ha detto Letizia Moratti, «il mio era un ragionamento più ampio». E con quella frase, lunedì, in Cattedrale («I clandestini che non hanno un lavoro regolare normalmente delinquono»), il sindaco intendeva «chiedere al governo una riforma del reato di clandestinità». Nel dettaglio, ha fatto sapere la Moratti, «abbiamo chiesto di prevedere l'espulsione anche nei casi di clandestini con altri procedimenti in corso».

Tutto risolto allora? Non pare. Il presidente della Cei, cardinale Angelo Bagnasco, fa netti distinguo: «Spero che non sia normale che tutti delinquano... In ogni modo, da tutte

le parti è necessario intervenire: non è meglio per poter regolare le presenze degli irregolari «affinché trovino quello che cercano, un futuro migliore», il tutto «nel mantenimento della solidarietà, del rispetto dell'ordine e della sicurezza». L'impegno di chi arriva, l'impegno di chi accoglie. Ecco, chi accoglie. Facciamo un salto in avanti. Ora, quale sia la percentuale di italiani che conoscono «molto bene» la cultura italiana, o anche «le leggi italiane», magari sarà materia di un prossimo sondaggio. In compenso il ministro del Turismo, Michela Vittoria Brambilla, ne ha commissionato uno per interrogare su questi argomenti chi arriva, gli immigrati stranieri appunto. E ha scoperto che, su 100 di loro, la cultura italiana dichiarano di conoscere

la «molto bene» in 6 e «abbastanza» in 40, che in 75 vorrebbero «integrarsi e ottenere la cittadinanza» ma solo a 51 importerebbe di votare: «di comunque», dice il ministro — il 41% di loro vorrebbe Berlusconi».

La presentazione del sondaggio — 700 interviste realizzate dall'Istituto Piepoli — ha mandato dei



Promotori della Libertà — è caduta all'indomani dell'uscita della Moratti. E la conclusione del ministro Brambilla è che «il punto per avere la cittadinanza italiana non sono i dieci anni di residenza, potrebbero bastare anche meno per chi dimostrasse di condividere i nostri valori e di conoscere la nostra Costituzione, le nostre leggi, la nostra lingua. La cittadinanza non è un timbro, bisogna dimostrare di amare il Paese in cui si vive». In effetti 18 per cento degli stranieri intervistati ha dichiarato che se potesse voterebbe la Lega di Bossi (25 Bersani, 11 Casini, 9 Di Pietro).

Alcuni osservatori hanno ritenuto di poter leggere nell'iniziativa del ministro una presa di posizione più o meno

Il caso

La frase
«I clandestini che non hanno un lavoro regolare normalmente delinquono». Così lunedì il sindaco di Milano, Letizia Moratti, è intervenuta nel corso di una conferenza sull'immigrazione all'Università Cattolica di Milano.

Polemiche
Le parole del sindaco Moratti hanno provocato reazioni polemiche. Il Pd l'ha accusata di «aprire come Bagnasco», il ministro dell'Interno, Roberto Maroni, l'ha difesa: «Non ha fatto equazioni fra clandestinità e reato».

critica rispetto alla linea che in tema di immigrazione è portata avanti ormai da tempo da Gianfranco Fini, peraltro mai espressamente nominato. Senonché proprio due deputati pdl tra i più fidati di tutti, Fabio Granata e Flavia Perina, sono stati i primi a rallegrarsi con lei: «Le parole del ministro sulla predisposizione dei migranti a votare Berlusconi rappresentano una sorprendente conferma di quanto da anni sostenuto in modo lungimirante da Fini».

«Ma allora perché...? È la considerazione di Letizia Orlando per l'Italia dei Valori — questo governo si accanisce così tanto contro di loro? Oppure il ministro Brambilla considera onesti solo gli immigrati a cui piace il capo del governo?».

Paolo Focchini
REPORTAGE DI MARIANO

Il dossier

Dall'Istat alla Caritas: le cifre negano l'equazione tra condizione irregolare e delinquenza. Il sociologo Barbagli: le parole della Moratti non rispondono alla realtà

I migranti nell'Italia dei reati
In testa giovani e scapoli

Ma il tasso di criminalità è di poco superiore al nostro

I numeri

Per l'Istat il tasso di criminalità degli immigrati è poco più alto di quello degli italiani

Il tasso di criminalità



Le attività criminali



Tendenze

L'equivoco

Il dibattito su immigrazione e delinquenza spesso è viziato da un equivoco: dire che l'80% degli stranieri denunciati per aver commesso un reato è costituito da clandestini non significa che l'80% degli stranieri irregolari commetta il reato in questione.

Le vittime

Chi subisce i reati commessi da immigrati sono prevalentemente altri immigrati, in particolare donne.

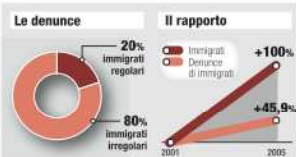
la classe d'età di coloro che hanno oltrepassato i 40 anni.

Sono gli stessi numeri a dire però che la stragrande maggioranza dei reati commessi da stranieri in Italia è opera di immigrati irregolari, anche se in proporzione molto diversa a seconda del tipo di reato. «Una quota più alta tra i cosiddetti reati strumentali, cioè i furti, gli scippi, lo spaccio di droga, e una quota inferiore per i cosiddetti reati di «tipo espressivo», come gli omicidi, le risse e le lesioni che sono influenzati meno dallo status giuridico della persona e più dalla situazione del momento», spiega Asher Colombo, ricercatore dell'Istituto Cattaneo.

Il tutto con grandi differenze territoriali tra Nord e Centro-Sud. «I responsabili di reati di criminalità diffusa — ha spiegato il capo della polizia Antonio Manganelli illustrando le cifre contenute nel «Rapporto sulla criminalità in Italia» del 2007, redatto dal ministero dell'Interno, che è il testo-base per tutti gli studi sulla criminalità — si atte-

stano al 30% nel rapporto immigrati clandestini-cittadini in Italia, ma al Nord si tocca il 50-60%». A titolo di esempio si possono prendere i cinque delitti che creano maggiore allarme sociale: su 11.378 arrestati o denunciati per omicidio consumato e tentato, violenza sessuale, furto, rapina in casa, 4.405 sono clandestini. Più di due clandestini al giorno sono fermati come colpevoli di stupro (817 nel 2006 su un totale di 3.381).

I dati disponibili del 2007 confermano questa tendenza: una violenza alle donne su quattro viene commessa da stranieri, in più della metà dei casi irregolari. C'è però subito da aggiungere che chi subisce i reati commessi da immigrati sono prevalentemente altri immigrati, e tra loro in particolare le donne. Parliamo soprattutto dei reati più gravi, i reati violenti e di sangue, gli omicidi e gli stupri. Tutto questo non può portare a concludere che la maggioranza degli irregolari siano delinquenti o per lo meno propensi a delinquere. Se-



I reati commessi dai clandestini

Percentuale di stranieri senza permesso di soggiorno sul totale degli stranieri denunciati, per tipologia di reato (anno 2006)



La percezione degli italiani



condo il professor Colombo, che è uno dei ricercatori che sta per pubblicare un Rapporto specifico sull'argomento su incarico della Fondazione Ieva, il fenomeno dei reati commessi da clandestini, invece, «sembra essere influenzato anche da altri fattori, più propriamente demografici, che possiamo ritenere ricorrano maggiormente nella popolazione irregolare o clandestina».

Pochi sanno infatti che le statistiche criminali sono influenzate quasi più dal sesso e dall'età che dalla nazionalità. Delinquono infatti soprattutto i maschi giovani e non sposati. E naturalmente si può ritenere che questa porzione sia particolarmente rappresentata tra gli immigrati in particolare irregolari, la cui consistenza numerica per definizione sfugge alle statistiche, ma che presumibilmente si può stimare — se-

Gli stupri

Una violenza alle donne su quattro viene commessa da stranieri, in più della metà dei casi irregolari

condo l'Ocse — tra i 300 mila e i 700 mila. Anche se Franco Pittau, responsabile del Dossier statistico della Caritas, che ha elaborato un apposita ricerca sulla criminalità degli immigrati, pubblicata qualche mese fa, nell'ottobre 2009, ha quantificato in circa 1 milione gli stranieri in tale situazione. Le statistiche ci dicono tuttavia che la stragrande maggioranza di essi, oltre il 60 per cento, sono entrati con un regolare visto di ingresso nel nostro Paese, cioè sono *overstayers* e che si guadagnano da vivere lavorando — sia pure in nero — nelle famiglie (come badanti o babysitter), nell'edilizia e nell'agricoltura e non commettendo crimini. Per tutta questa serie di fattori, secondo il sociologo Marzio Barbagli, autore del volume «Immigrazione e sicurezza in Italia», affermazioni come quelle del sindaco di Milano, Letizia Moratti, («che pure è persona responsabile e moderata»), «non sono sostenibili, non rispondono alla realtà».

M. Antonietta Calabrò
REPORTAGE DI MARIANO

Fig.15: Corriere della Sera, 12th May 2010

A similar example on how news can be racialized and how context can be bent in order to fit into a narrative of emergency and danger is provided by *Corriere della Sera*'s analysis on the relationship between migrants' presence and criminality (see figure 15, page 82): the headline says "Migrants in criminal offences' Italy: in the lead young ones and bachelors". Only in the sub-headlines it emerges that "criminality rate is just slightly above ours" (that is, the Italian average). This is, in my view, a blatant manipulation of otherwise strong and unbiased data. Misinterpretations are challenged by the journalist, who in the text body underlines how "many of the misunderstandings and political controversies gravitating around the cause and effect link between criminality and immigration are born out of [a] mistake of perspective and mathematics" (Maria Antonietta Calabrò, 12th May 2010). But the journalist's caution in writing the piece is totally obliterated by the bias in the headline.

A third, somehow more surprising case comes from *il manifesto*'s pages. On May 12th, the left-wing daily publishes a news report on how businessmen in North-Eastern Italy tackle tax evaders; foreign competitors are mentioned only in a small piece in the lower part of the page, and apparently there is no connection with the phenomenon of tax evasion. But the picture that dominates the page shows a group of Chinese workers in an Italian textile factory, triggering a process of subconscious identification between the two issues.

Clandestines, Roma travellers' camps, ethnic violence and "warriors of the banlieues – young, foreign and alone" (*La Repubblica*, 12/5): these are the portraits that Italian newspapers draw of migrant presence in the country. No wonder, then, if even in the most respected and "neutral" daily – *Corriere della Sera* – no official space is devoted to represent migrant communities as a peer voice: according to official sources I consulted on the matter, *Corriere*

has no commentators or contributors coming from migrant groups, nor staff reporters or free-lance contributors of the same origin working for it; at the same time, albeit the massive presence of migrants in Milan and its suburbs, no real investment has been made in order to gain new readers among them. So far, the only initiative set up by *Corriere* is a partial translation of its website in Chinese. Curiously, similar answers were provided by *il manifesto*: as an insider said to me⁹¹, “there are no foreign-born nationals writing regularly for us, if we just consider countries of origin of migration flows. Clearly we do have various foreign commentators, but they write mostly on politics (Joseph Halevi on Israel-Palestine, others for Latin America). We do, however, have solid relationships with migrant writers: Igiaba Sciego, Mihai Mircea Butcovan, Karim Metref. On union policies we sometimes publish comments by Aboubakar Soumahoro, immigration representative for RDB [independent unions]. No migrant reporters work in our newsroom, anyway; and recently, no initiative has been put into practice with migrant communities. Two years ago we published *Made in Italy*, a collection of stories from migrant writers in Italy”.

Migrant voices are almost totally absent also from German and UK media. In the British sample, out of 13 published articles (only one of them on the *Daily Mirror*, and 3 on the *Sun*), the vast majority are related to legal cases on asylum issues. “Outrageous abuse of executive power” is the *Times*’ headline (10/5) on the case of a Dutch national, born in Somalia, who had been “unlawfully detained” for 128 days in the UK, pending deportation; the *Guardian* reports on how “Gay asylum seekers go to supreme court in fight to remain” (10/5). In both cases, the alleged victims don’t have a say; the only quotes are related to lawyers, spokespersons of activist groups or government representatives.

⁹¹ Both email interviews were realized at the beginning of June 2010.

The situation doesn't improve that much on the German side; the total amount of the published pieces is 15, 9 of them – predictably – by *taz*. The main issues are related to the integration of the Turkish community, the lack of respect for EU recommendations about discrimination, the “fear” of a new wave of climate refugees, the need for language test for migrants and their children. There are, altogether, only 2 articles which are focused on the story of a migrant; both appear on *taz*. The first one recalls “The fall of a hopebearer” (10/5) and it depicts the political rise and fall of Bülent Ciftlik, a “rising star” of the Social Democrats in Hamburg; the second one is an interview with the German-Turkish actor Sinan-Al Kuri (10/5), who explains how his art is defined - in a positive way - by being a foreigner.

In other newspapers, though, the overall tone is very different: *Die Welt*, in particular, focuses on how “Only one Turk out of ten completes secondary school education” (12/5) or “Turks in Germany are the worst integrated ones. What do you really want?” (12/5), or “Last way out: forced marriage” (11/5).

The set of parameters, when applied to a “time of peace” in Europe, leads therefore to the same results: media coverage of migrations, if not directly biased, nonetheless lacks an in-depth view and contact with local migrant communities. It also focuses almost exclusively on danger and destabilization, that is, on the negative contribution that the presence of migrants can bring into their adoptive homelands. Simply by counting the number of articles dedicated to the issue, and by considering their impact on public opinion when the same exclusionary approach is applied over and over again – both by centre-right and centre-left oriented media - academics and activists could develop a tool to make journalists and editors aware of the negative role they are playing on the road to integration.

b. The Other Side of the Mirror

The natural evolution of this research project would be to explore the impact of media narratives on the countries of destination as well as on those where migration flows are originated, with a similar approach to the one applied by Nicola Mai with Albanian migration to Italy.

As for the time being, this has been done only in an explorative way; research on African countries – the continent where most of migrants involved in Rosarno riots and in the “new waves” of migration do come from – is complex and time-consuming. I will therefore provide some suggestions and hints on how media can impact on African society when it comes to disseminate information on migration towards Europe or elsewhere.

First of all, it has to be underlined how little impact printed media can exert in the continent; communication in most African countries – on grounds of illiteracy, poverty, social structure – relies heavily on radio, tv and new media (Internet, mobile phones). This of course impacts on information consumption models, which are totally different from European ones. According to a Polis briefing paper, “there are about 33m Internet users in the whole of Africa – less than four percent penetration, against over 38% penetration in Europe and 60% in North America. Of those 33m, more than 12m are north of the Sahara, 5m in South Africa and 5m in Nigeria – leaving less than 18m split between another 50 countries, where penetration rates are as low as 0.2%”.⁹²

At the same time,

“despite promising developments for the provision of more substantial bandwidth joining west, east and southern African coastlines to the global

⁹² *Development, Governance and the Media: The role of the media in building African society*, ed. by Charlie Beckett and Laura Kyrke-Smith, London 2007, p.47

telecommunications network, the existing power and communications infrastructure across Africa needs significant improvement if new technologies are to be effective. Frequent power outages can be just as restricting as the limited availability and very high costs of bandwidth. Given that an increasing volume of material available online – particularly when produced within developed countries – is based on an assumption of high bandwidth, it follows that many of those who can only access the Internet via dial-up cannot take advantage of much of the information that is present”⁹³.

This is especially true when it comes to disseminating information on migration phenomenon – legal frameworks, potential risks and dangers – in the countries of origin of migrants. Information flows get stuck amidst technical difficulties, government intervention and editorial choices. According to talks with Ethiopian media professionals, for instance, the government in Addis Ababa is allegedly not keen on pointing out flaws and human rights violations on the side of its European counterparts; media – mostly State-owned, or under governmental control – seldom cover stories on the tragic fate of the ones who cross the Sudanese desert just to be arrested and bounced back (and more often than not, to die) into the Saharan emptiness, or on the precarious boats that sink in Mediterranean waters, between Libya and Italy. On the contrary, a great amount of attention is devoted to migration towards Lebanon, with issues of racism, trafficking and prostitution, abuses at work places and suicides amongst Ethiopian workers. The information on migration flows, patterns and strategies is apparently spread through more informal channels.

A similar problem exists in Egypt, one of the main gates for Sub-Saharan migrants in their odyssey to Northern shores, as shown in the beautiful and

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48

moving documentary “Messages from Paradise #1”⁹⁴, by Daniela Swarowsky and Samuli Schielke, which confronts life, experiences and expectations of four would-be migrants in a Nile delta village with the shattered dreams of nine Egyptians living in Austria. As one of the young men in the documentary states, after finding out – from the taping of interviews with migrants “who made it” – that life in Europe is not all rosy and easy, “maybe our press doesn’t show these things about Europe”.

In Nigeria newspapers cover migration stories, but quite often opt for an approach which might be considered similar to the one witnessed in European media: migration is dangerous, linked to criminal activity, and Nigerian emigrants are described as likely to fall prey to smugglers, traffickers and pimps. There is nonetheless an interest in providing facts and figures on the phenomenon, such as in the reportage from Austria published by Ayodele Ale on *The Punch* (“Sex hawkers, other desperate Nigerians find new routes to Europe”, 24/4/2010)⁹⁵. The question here is whether mainstream media, which have a limited penetration in African countries – *The Punch*, that is the second Nigerian daily, publishes 80,000 copies a day in a nation of 152 million - can actually contribute in shaping a narrative on migration in the area.

It is therefore key, in order to understand patterns of migration as well as to create a real communication between communities, to focus – as a future development of this paper – on how would-be migrants actually perceive reality in destination countries, where do they get information from, how the latter can be shaped by political and social forces, how individuals and communities can bypass mainstream media in order to gather and disseminate their own narrative.

⁹⁴ For informations on the movie and the long-term research project which is at its origin: <http://www.samuli-schielke.de/messages-from-paradise-1-presskit.pdf>

⁹⁵ <http://www.punchng.com/Articl.aspx?theartic=Art201004240131054>

A good example of how local communities and citizens make an effort in this direction is provided by a story that was also reported by the European media as a “positive case study”: Sidibe Mousa, “the man of bad news”⁹⁶, and his pledge to disseminate information on the true life of migrants in Europe. Mr Mousa is the head of a small organization called the High Council for Malians in Spain, where he migrated in 2001. After finding out that his fellow countrymen didn’t know anything about what they would face once they left Mali for Europe, and even more what a migrant life is going to be like, once settled in a new country, he decided that he would help in building a new “narrative of the truth”. He therefore collected pictures, articles, tv news recording, documentaries on migrant rallies and video testimonies from Malian workers in Spain. Once back in Mali, he would travel around the country to show his “collection” in village squares and city bars, triggering debates and ending up being quoted by national television.

His story shows, in my view, that a different and collaborative approach to the narrative of migration is possible, on both sides. A fruitful cooperation between media professionals, activists and citizens is probably the only way out of the exclusionary and biased representation that nowadays dominates in mainstream media.

⁹⁶ See the coverage provided by *El Pais*:

http://www.elpais.com/articulo/madrid/hombre/malas/noticias/elpepiespmad/20081004elpmad_9/Tes

6. COUNTERACTING HEGEMONIC NARRATIVE: A LOOK FORWARDS

“At the edge of the system,
what is operating today
are logics of expulsion”
Saskia Sassen⁹⁷

a. From Gramsci to Sassen

There are, as this paper has hopefully proved so far, slightly different media approaches to a narrative of migration in Europe. However, it is definitely and unmistakably true that a common feature is shared by all mainstream print media. The issue of migration is defined by a discourse which, in turn, is built upon voids and absences, together with a precise and definite choice of pertaining semantic areas. Information is often concealed, if not distorted or bent in order to fit into a specific ideological approach.

Migration is all the same not identified by the media discourse on it; rather, its discourse - as Michel Foucault⁹⁸ put it – *creates* and *constitutes* the reality it should define. There is no ultimate self-explicable truth, but only the object that words and images contribute to build, in a constantly dynamic process that by moving, conceals its own making.

The narrative of migration presented by the media is a full embodiment of Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony⁹⁹. The views and definition of a

⁹⁷ S. Sassen, *The Complexity of Powerlessness: What Makes Human Rights Law Perform?*, Elizabeth Colson Lecture, Oxford, 26th May 2010 (a podcast of the lecture is available at <http://www.forcedmigration.org/podcasts/colson-lecture/2010/>)

⁹⁸ See M. Foucault, *L'Archéologie du Savoir*, Paris 1969

⁹⁹ See A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere 1929-1935*, Torino 2007

dominant class – in this situation, even more than “local citizens”, political and economic powers – are naturalized through media coverage, which ultimately make them seem “normal”; it is “normal” not to listen to migrant voices even when they *are* the news, it is “normal” to abdicate to the very basic rules of journalistic practice when dealing with the issue, it is “normal” to reduce a whole category of citizens to a matter of law and order. These ideas and approaches are presented as if no other definition would be possible; they dominate and direct public discourses, until they become “common sense”. The characteristic of a dominant ideology, in the Gramscian sense, is precisely the fact that nobody ever talks about it; its very nature makes it unquestionable.

From this very simple philosophical statement derives a further step in terms of how media not only are defined by policies, but in turn end up defining them, as well as orienting public opinion’s stance in the debate. “The issues the media chooses to cover most end up being primed, meaning that they become the predominant bases for public evaluations”, Krosnick and Miller¹⁰⁰ stated in 1997. According to De Philippis’ analysis, “the correlation between how issues are ranked in terms of importance by the public and the degree of media coverage on those issues is of 0.5 or better in most of the studies analyzed. This provides evidence of the very powerful agenda setting role of the media”¹⁰¹.

By building the discourse on them, the media define the issues a society debates. Everything that isn’t included in the discourse is virtually non-existent; it doesn’t have a “right of citizenship”. When it comes to migration issues, societies are wrapped into *information cocoons* - “communications

¹⁰⁰ A. Krosnick and M. Miller, *Anatomy of News Media Priming*, in *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America*, Sage 1997, p. 260

¹⁰¹ Marta De Philippis, *ibid.*, p.15

universes in which we hear only what we choose and only what comforts and pleases us (...). Warm, friendly places where everyone shares our views”, borrowing the words of Cass Sunstein. And “if members of a political group – or a nation’s leaders – live in a cocoon, they are unlikely to think well, simply because their own preconceptions will become entrenched”¹⁰². In this upgrade of Gramsci’s hegemony to a mass communication world, “deliberation usually promotes uniformity by decreasing the range of views within groups”¹⁰³.

Looking back at the results of this analysis, it might be worth asking ourselves whether the media should be considered prone to a dangerous form of *groupthink*, to use a definition coined by Irving Janis at the beginning of the 80s¹⁰⁴; that is, are we promoting unthinking uniformity on migration on one hand, and self-censorship on the other, through a range of attitudes which can vary from selective gathering of information to a pressure to withhold internal criticism? Do we actually have a tendency to reject nibbles of information that somehow contradict the mainstream narrative on migration, thus avoiding any challenge to the “groupthink”?

As Sunstein put it, there might be two forces at work here: “The first consists of *informational influences*, which cause group members to fail to disclose what they know out of respect for the information publicly announced by others (...). The second force involves *social pressures*, which lead people to silence themselves to avoid the disapproval of peers and supervisors”¹⁰⁵. In other words, what I call “hegemonic control” is here embodied by the first two functions outlined by Wilson and Gutiérrez; namely, *surveillance*, that is “the sentinel or lookout role of the media

¹⁰² Cass R. Sunstein, *Infotopia. How Many Minds Produce Knowledge*, Oxford University Press 2006, p.9

¹⁰³ Cass R. Sunstein, *ibid.*, p.55

¹⁰⁴ See: Irving L. Janis, *Victims of Groupthink*, Houghton Mifflin Company 1972

¹⁰⁵ Cass R. Sunstein, *quoted*, pp. 13-14

watching the society and horizon for threats to the established order and information on people or places of public interest”¹⁰⁶, and *transmission*, synthesizing “the socialization function of the media, which defines the society, its norms, and values, to the audience and through their portrayals and coverage assists members of the society in adopting, using, and acting on those values”¹⁰⁷.

The interpretative universe that is born as a result of these discourse dynamics is, quite intuitively, an exclusionary one. The space destined to migrants is distinct, and it is located *outside* the one occupied by more powerful parts of society. This mechanism is, in Saskia Sassen’s view, the counterreaction to the “logics of inclusion” which dominated in the capitalistic era, when human beings were seen as potential consumers and therefore needed to be “included” into social sphere; nowadays, what is operating at the edges of the system – where the powerless and vulnerable groups struggle to survive – are what Sassen calls “logics of expulsion”¹⁰⁸: refugees and IDPs (“internally displaced persons”), but also victims of land grabs, families evicted from cities by subprime mortgage crisis – and, of course, migrants.

b. Future applications on a global scale

However, far from being a permanent and unchallengeable condition, Sassen’s “logic of expulsion” bears in itself the tools for a counterreaction. Isolation and powerlessness are, in her view, not to be considered as an

¹⁰⁶ C.C. Wilson II and F. Gutiérrez, *quoted*, p.37; the remaining three “central functions” are *Correlation, Entertainment and Economic Service*.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38

¹⁰⁸ See above, footnote n° 90.

absolute, but rather as a variable: “At one end it is elementary, you are a victim. But at the other, there are situations where powerlessness becomes complex. In that complexity lies the possibility of politics, of making”.

Is it therefore possible to challenge hegemonic discourse? In my opinion, the answer is yes. But the first step to be taken is to have a well-grounded knowledge and awareness of how the discourse is shaped, where its flaws are, and where are its strengths. This is why an academically sound media analysis, on a much broader scale, would be needed; this paper, as stated before, is only a pilot project to test the effectiveness of a model. In order for it to be used as a proper advocacy tool on one side, or as a device to help media professionals in improving their coverage of migration issues on the other, it needs to be further tested and applied to a various number of realities and circumstances.

Scarcity of time prevented me, for instance, from getting a proper analysis of media in the countries of origin; but it is of utmost relevance, for migrant communities and for journalists, to grasp the mechanisms that contribute in shaping a narrative of migration in those areas of the world. This will hopefully be at the centre of a future development of this project; its results are meant to be key to shaping a better understanding between the media and citizens, at both the extremes of the hemicycle. And they will hopefully encourage the “silent protagonists” of this narrative to act, counterreact, and begin to represent themselves inside the very same communities that so often seem to deny them a proper voice.

As William Bird, Director of Media Monitoring Africa (MMA, formerly the Media Monitoring Project, MMP), stated in Bonn, during the 4th Symposium Forum Media and Development¹⁰⁹:

¹⁰⁹ The final paper *Media on the Move. Migrants and Minorities and the Media*, Bonn 2009, is downloadable at http://www.cameco.org/files/mediaonthemove_complete_1.pdf

“The excitement and exceptional power of media monitoring lies in its diversity of applications. (...) [It] is itself an inherently positive exercise, in that it entails, in our experience, mostly ordinary citizens actively engaging with the content of the media, coding and capturing the information, analysing the results and then taking action based on the trends and findings identified, in an effort to build an open, diverse, democratic, human rights-based society... (...) what is done with the monitoring results that are produced? They can be used in many different ways, and for different purposes. Internationally, regulatory bodies often monitor the media to assess compliance with licence conditions. Where these conditions are clearly set out and do not negatively infringe on the editorial independence of the media such monitoring can be extremely valuable and assist in developing vibrant and effective media”¹¹⁰.

Migrants, be they of first or second generation, represent an ever growing part of our societies, as well as – from the point of view of a media professional – of our potential readership. In this time of crisis, it might be worth exploring and investing in this market. At the same time, and perhaps a little bit more idealistically, migrants are – no matter how much we might or might not be willing to admit it – the citizens of the future. Denying, hiding or ignoring their presence will only protract and pointlessly delay the building of a much needed new concept of citizenship. As media professionals, we should be aware of what is at stake, and be ready – and willing – to play our part in the game.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.40

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